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THE proceedings of the British National Liberal Conference at Birmingham, at the end of November, were interesting not only as an indication of the severe strain under which the Coalition is now cracking—Mr. Asquith "in subpœna tones" summoned all Liberals to cut loose from their "enslaving and enfeebling bonds"—but also as a measure of the movement to the Left within the ranks of British liberalism. Between the Manchester School of yesterday and the liberalism of today, particularly the Manchester liberalism of today, is a startling breach of policy and principle. Even in spite of the elimination of a large part of the radical "Manchester program" and the consequent withdrawal of the Manchester delegation, the Birmingham Conference adopted resolutions demanding a tax on land values, and favoring "the acquisition of all mineral rights by the state," as well as "an experiment in the working of such monopolies as railways, canals, and coal mines, with a view to national ownership if experience proves that this would be an advantage to the community as a whole." In addition, the Conference reaffirmed the traditional Liberal opposition to protection, particularly as exhibited in the provisions of the budget and in the Imports and Exports Regulation bill, commonly known as the anti-dumping bill. The Government, however, has muddled through the critical days preceding the Christmas recess with little regard for Liberal or Labor disaffection. None of the important measures before the House have been disposed of. Mr. Lloyd George is desperately supporting the Conservative candidate in the Spen Valley district against Sir John Simon, the only Liberal candidate. The Government scheme for Ireland will, according to a reported speech of the Home Secretary, Mr. Shortt, "be scoffed at by every man, woman, and child in Ireland," but will be imposed upon the people at all costs. Altogether, both the country and the Government are facing something in the nature of a Parliamentary crisis, and if an election is sprung upon the people in the near future, no one will be surprised.

MEANWHILE, the attention of the people of Great Britain has been directed from the minor atrocities of the extremists of both sides in Ireland to the more lurid expressions of hatred and distrust in India. The disconcerting revelation of the massacre of last spring, when many hundreds of unarmed Indians were deliberately slaughtered by British troops at the order of British officers, has thrown the Government into further confusion. Lord Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India, in the course of some uncomfortable moments of questioning in the House, requested a suspension of judgment pending a full official report of the occurrence, which, he promised, would not be delayed. Since the published account of the massacre came from General Dyer, the officer who ordered, witnessed, and approved the action of the troops, the ingenuity of the officials who make the promised report will be sorely taxed to find much extenuating evidence. Whatever the outcome may be, liberals and radicals in Great Britain have been confirmed beyond the possibility of doubt in their suspicion that the Government has consistently withheld, even from Parliament itself, the actual facts of the situation in India. Distrust regarding the Government's whole colonial policy and its methods of colonial administration has been implanted in the minds of the people and their representatives; the strength of the Indian Nationalist cause has been reinforced from the very ranks of the enemy; and the Government has a new charge to face before the tribunal of public opinion.

THOSE who saw in the French legislative election of November 16 only a crushing defeat of radicalism and a nation-wide endorsement of M. Clemenceau will be hard put to it to interpret the municipal elections held two weeks later. Lille, Roubaix, and Maubeuge, great industrial centres in the heart of the devastated district, elected Socialist mayors, and over a hundred communes in the invaded departments of the north returned Socialist councils. A dozen of the industrial suburbs of Paris elected Socialist mayors and municipal councillors. The Socialist vote in Paris, which on November 16 amounted to 28 per cent. of the total vote cast, rose to 35 per cent. Lyons, the second city of France, seems likely to have a Socialist municipal council when the second balloting is taken. Strasbourg elected 17 Socialist municipal councillors, and 19 representatives of the four opposition parties; M. Peirotes, a Socialist, continues mayor of the Alsatian capital. Of the other Alsatian cities, Guebwiller and St. Marie-aux-Mines returned Socialist councils; Mulhouse will be equally divided between Socialists and non-Socialists; and Colmar has a fusion

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Socialist-democratic and anti-Clemenceau council. At Toulouse and Bordeaux the Socialists were defeated only by the fusion of their opponents. The fact is, of course, that the elections of November 16 were greatly misrepresented in the American press. The Socialist vote, which amounted to 1,100,000 in the legislative election of 1914, rose to 1,720,000—a gain of more than 50 per cent. Anti-Socialist fusions and a complicated system of multiple constituencies reduced the party representation in the Chamber of Deputies to 60, although on a proportional basis it should have been 160.

M. PADEREWSKI, who from the first has had to face considerable opposition as Premier of Poland, has finally been forced to retire. The new Ministry, headed by M. Skulski, represents a coalition of parties in which only the extreme Left is unrepresented. The Paderewski Ministry, which was also non-partisan, was never able to command a clear majority in the Diet, yet its final overthrow came on an issue with which any Ministry would have been powerless to cope—the question of relief from the desperate food situation. Poland has suffered acutely from the general European food and fuel shortage, and conditions there, according to reports in the British press, have been rendered much worse than they would otherwise have been by the freezing of a large part of the potato crop and the breakdown of the transportation system. The Government measures to relieve the situation were of necessity inadequate, and the economic distress, reflected in the political situation, brought about the collapse of the Ministry. This, however, was only the immediate cause of its fall. The conservative land-holding party was opposed to M. Paderewski because of his concessions to the Peasant party in the matter of agrarian reforms, while the Peasant party, which holds the balance of power in the Diet, distrusted him because he was primarily a conservative. The Socialists and other parties of the Left are opposed, of course, to any bourgeois Government. It is true that M. Paderewski had lost prestige by his failure to induce the Allies to grant the full Polish claim to Eastern Galicia, but even taking into account the imperialistic temper of the new Poland, it appears improbable that this diplomatic failure would have seriously injured M. Paderewski's position had he been able to count upon any considerable support in the Diet.

THE dignified reply of the Mexican Foreign Office to the second American note demanding the release of Mr. Jenkins will doubtless displease those Americans who hold that an American in Mexico is above the law of the land he visits. The note points out with some vigor that "the sole belief of the United States in the innocence of Jenkins is not sufficient according to Mexican laws to establish that innocence and avoid legal effects." Whether the temper of the note will bring about that harmony between the United States and Mexico which the Mexican Government desires may, however, well be doubted. In spite of the repudiation by the Department of State of Senator Fall and his belligerent resolution, the Administration has shown no sign of treating Mexico like an honorable equal. Naturally, Senator Fall is aggrieved. He had every reason, as he says, to believe that the Department of State agreed in every detail with his position, and "was prepared to act decisively at once." Senator Fall ignored, however, an important element in the situation. The Government may sever relations with Mexico, but it must do so without the aid and support of a Republican Senator; it may desire war, but it must be the Administration's war. Meanwhile, the fate of the Carranza Government hangs in the balance of the coming Mexican election. President Carranza himself is supporting Señor Bonillas, the Mexican Ambassador to the United States, who is running on a general liberal platform of social betterment and "the development of the resources and wealth of the country in conformity with the ideas and the ideals of the Carranza revolution." With even greater determination the present Government is opposing the candidacy of General Obregon, and has refused to accept the General's retirement from the army. Whether this opposition will, as has been hinted, lead to actual insurrection in the City of Mexico, is yet to be seen, but General Obregon firmly refuses to abandon his candidacy.

THAT the powers that be are disposed to contribute to the prevailing hysteria regarding the activities of "red" aliens in the United States is shown both by the report of Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti, and by the proposals of the House Committee on Immigration, of which Representative Johnson, of Washington, is chairman. Mr. Caminetti recommends that the office of Assistant Secretary of Labor be established, with jurisdiction over all immigration matters, that the present war regulations concerning the deportation of alien anarchists be made permanent, and that anarchists be regarded as criminals. The Immigration Committee repeats the above proposals, incidentally recommending the abolition of the office of Commissioner General of Immigration; and in addition urges the establishment of a military patrol on the Mexican and Canadian borders, and the creation of nationalization courts to expedite hearings and do away with the release of undesirables on their own recognizance. The significant point in these proposals is the shifting of emphasis in the case of the undesirable alien, whether coming or going, from an economic to a political ground. When the supervision of the alien was placed in the hands of the Department of Labor the alien was regarded principally as an economic factor, his degree of desirability from time to time depending on the condition of the labor market. Now, in spite of Commissioner Caminetti's statement that during the last fiscal year only two alien anarchists were excluded and thirty-seven deported, and that, of 6,000 aliens who should be deported, "only a very small number are anarchists," the alien is apparently to be regarded as a menace to the Government, a dangerous and wily agitator, who approaches this country with a bomb up his sleeve and a red gleam in his eye, and hence a proper subject for the courts. Representative Johnson has recently introduced a bill extending the exclusion and deportation laws to members of the I. W. W. and similar organizations, whether or not they preach or practice violence. Perhaps some of the numerous aliens who have expressed a desire to be deported may have read that part of a recent editorial in the *New York Times* which asks, "Why give any questionable new arrival the benefit of the doubt?"

NOW that 249 "Reds" are on the high seas bound for Soviet Russia, 110,000,000 Americans will, we are sure, begin to sleep in peace once more. The Administration is at one stroke freed from the Congressional charge of having been too lax in the matter of deportation, and those who

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believe that extremist doctrines can be exterminated by force are correspondingly gratified. At this moment it is idle to point out that the deportation of a thousand times 249 men and women would not end the spread of radical ideas. Nothing can do that but justice, fair play, and the coming of real democracy in America. And elsewhere, too, for here is our own dearly-beloved Senator Lusk back from Europe with the news that Bolshevism is spreading rapidly on the Continent and even in England. The Senator has at least learned something, for he has discovered that besides repression, upon which he still vigorously insists, there must also be an educational campaign. Precisely; if the new ideas cannot be shown in the public forum to be destructive and disintegrating, they will inevitably prevail and no amount of shipping out of "Reds" will help. Of course we do not mean that the United States is not justified in returning to their native countries aliens who announce a deliberate purpose of using violence to change American institutions. But any spreading of the belief that America can be safeguarded by shipping out any foreigner whose views are distasteful to an administrative official will do more harm than good.

AFTER proceedings against the Chicago packers lasting several years, the Department of Justice has finally obtained the consent of the packers to retire from all business except the wholesale distribution of meat, its by-products, and dairy goods. The "Big Five"—Armour, Swift, Cudahy, Morris, and Wilson—will have two years in which to sell their holdings in public stockyards, in stockyard railways and terminals, in market newspapers, and in public cold storage warehouses except as necessary for handling their own products; to disassociate themselves from the retail meat business and all "unrelated lines"; to abandon the use of their distributing system for any but their own meat and dairy products; and to "perpetually submit" to the jurisdiction of the United States District Court under an injunction forbidding any combination among themselves or with others, or any monopoly of food products. The disassociation of the Chicago packers from the retail grocery business may have a good effect, but Attorney General Palmer's prediction of a material decrease in the cost of living will be accepted by the public with considerable reservations.

THE choice of Dr. David P. Barrows, head of the Department of Political Science in the University of California, as president of the university in succession to Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, appears to have met with enthusiastic approval from the alumni of the university and from the California public generally. Dr. Barrows has had a long and successful career as teacher and dean, and has just completed a service of more than two years with the army in the Philippines and Siberia. If newspaper reports are to be believed, however, the new president has made an unfortunate start. A post of the American Legion in the northern part of the State, it appears, asked the opinion of the executive committee of that organization, at San Francisco, regarding the public presentation of German music. In reply, the executive committee sent to the local post a copy of a resolution adopted at the Minneapolis convention of the Legion, strongly opposing the performance of German music in the United States. Dr. Barrows, who holds the office of State commander of the Legion, is quoted by the San Francisco *Call* as saying that "any elaborate revival of German music is injudicious and poor taste at this time." "I believe," he is reported to have said, "that the presentation of German music is injudicious, at least until after peace has been signed with Germany and relations resumed with that country, and until after Germany has shown her willingness to carry out all of the terms of the peace treaty." We do not know how "elaborate" the musical program to which the American Legion objected was, but it is pitiful to see the head of a great State university allying himself with those who want the war to go on, not against German armies or German intrigue, but against German art.

THE report of the Board of Administration of North Dakota is an extraordinarily interesting example of enlightened social consciousness. The Board, consisting of two ex-officio members and three members appointed by the Governor, was formed by merging in one body the powers and duties of the former Board of Education, Board of Control, and Board of Regents; it has control of the penal, charitable, reformatory, and educational institutions of the State, and is charged with the expenditure of 63 per cent. of the annual Legislative appropriation. This coördination of institutional activities was brought about partly for the sake of economy and efficiency, but more, in the language of the report, because "the Legislature was imbued with a new conception of the social character and possibilities of the so-called penal, charitable, and reformatory institutions." These institutions, as viewed in North Dakota, are not to be regarded as means of punishment for crime or as cures for social evils, but as opportunities for general social enlightenment, and hence may properly be grouped with institutions more conventionally styled educational. It is as refreshing as it is unexpected to find that, in the opinion of the Board, too much stress is laid on administration, and not enough on scholarly ability, in the conduct of the schools. This is heresy, but of such a sort as should give educational reformers a new lease of life.

IF all the American poets took a vote as to whom they considered first among them, the modest ones would put first on their list, and the conceited ones second, the name of Edwin Arlington Robinson. He is, as a group of them have just testified by their tribute to him on his fiftieth birthday, their master. He was always a classic. In a splay-footed age he came walking like a thoroughbred. In a brawling age he was willing to utter only clear notes. While others painted as on barns and fences he used the finest ivory; his art has been largely that of the miniaturist. No one has known better than he how to present a likeness and a thing of beauty within the hard, bright, compact limits of the miniature. Compression, indeed, has been his forte and triumph, perhaps his danger. A good many of his poems are like nuts, which you must take the pains to crack before you can have the pleasure of tasting them. Yet if he has compressed his poems and sometimes locked them up against invaders, so has he distilled them to their essence. They have astonishingly little to show in the way of dross and dregs. Distinguished, they are also distinctive. His reticence has not kept out of them a savor which marks them all—a keen, sharp tang, a powerful personal rhythm, an unforgettable fusion of passion and shrewdness. If the American public neglects Mr. Robinson, it does not deserve to have men of genius; at any rate, the poets know better.

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Europe Must Be Fed

MOST insistent of all questions before the American people, as the New Year approaches, is that of averting famine from Europe. It is difficult to overstate the seriousness of the issue, or to over-emphasize the duty of America to do what it can to meet it. Those who a year ago imagined that the signing of the armistice meant the prompt return of normal conditions in the world now know better, but few realize that in respect to food, at least, the situation has not only been growing increasingly worse, but that it is bound to become more critical in 1920, and, unless some far-reaching program is supported by the United States, may reach an even more desperate pass in 1921. Mr. Hoover has recently declared that, owing to diminished food production in Europe, approximately 100,000,000 Europeans are now dependent upon imported food. Sir George Paish, the British economist, put the fact more startlingly when he said the other day that 100,000,000 persons in Europe were facing starvation.

How comes it that food conditions are worse in the world today than when the armistice was signed more than a year ago? In the first place, the question is not simply one of a devastated area in Belgium and northern France. All over Europe fields have been rendered unproductive through lack of cultivation or fertilization; orchards and vineyards have deteriorated from lack of care; cows have been butchered for beef or used as work animals, with consequent lack of milk; horses have been slaughtered for food, or killed in war, to the detriment of farm operations; and railways are so far run down or depleted of rolling-stock as to be unequal to transport demands. Moreover, war continues in many places, armies are not yet demobilized, and industrial and financial conditions are so unstable as to deter many from an effort to employ adequately either their labor or their capital. All this constitutes an economic bankruptcy which cannot be remedied in a year. To cope with it requires extraordinary man-power, intelligence, and hope. Yet actually Europe has to meet it with a population deprived by war of a large part of the very elements needed. It is estimated, for example, that the war has cost France fifty per cent. of its men between twenty and thirty years of age; and other countries are similarly bereft. Many of the workers who remain are weakened by malnutrition, while the withdrawal of government war guarantees for food production, the relaxation of government control of food distribution, and the failure of imports, have combined to lessen the food supply everywhere.

Added to all this is the rapid decline in the value of European money in America and in other food markets of the world. The currency situation is bad enough in France and Italy, where money, in American values, is not only worth less than half what it was before the war, but, taking into account enhanced prices, will buy today hardly a fourth of what it would buy in 1914. In Austria, where the value of the crown, valued at about twenty cents in American money before the war, has shrunk to less than one cent, the situation is impossible. Starvation is now an actuality in Vienna; little children are dying for want of milk; the sick, aged, and weak are succumbing; the whole population is wasting away through lack of nourishment. In Hungary, Poland, and Finland conditions are little better. One of the greatest dangers is the decreased supply of fats, a decrease which means not only less nourishment, but less soap, less cleanliness, hence more disease.

It is with no desire merely to deal in alarmist phrases that we set down these facts; it is rather to urge upon the American people, upon the President, and upon Congress the necessity of meeting perhaps the most serious problem that has confronted the world—bigger, by far, than the war itself—with vision, non-partisanship, and humanity. If it was worth while to spend thirty billion dollars (not to speak of human lives) in what most Americans no doubt sincerely regarded as an effort to preserve democracy in the world, then it is worth while to spend an appreciable fraction of that sum in keeping alive the peoples who are expected to carry on that idea. The first need is to feed Austria. The Supreme Council at Paris, it is reported, has agreed to grant shipping facilities for food already purchased by Austria which thus far, from lack of railway transport, has not been moved. This should supply the bare necessities of existence until January 21. The Council has further voted to release 30,000 tons of food held at Trieste, which it is estimated will last until the end of April. To carry Austria from then until after next year's harvest, the Council is said to have devised a plan, the details of which have not been made public, which America is to be asked to support to the extent of $100,000,000. The President of Argentina has just recommended an appropriation of two million dollars for Austrian relief, the Austrian Government to repay the loan at its convenience. Considering our own far greater population and wealth, $100,000,000 is not too much to shoulder.

Immediate food relief for Austria should be, however, not the end but rather the beginning of a vaster, longer-sustained effort in behalf of industrial reconstruction among both the Allies and the Central Powers. Europe needs not only food but fuel, building materials, farm implements, seed, and a variety of products for which it must depend mainly upon America. It has few goods as yet to offer in return. To buy outright at present exchange rates is ruinous, if not impossible, for Europe, while in America the effect of a fluctuating exchange in creating artificial values and thus forcing up prices for the entire community is pretty certain to benefit only the profiteers. The task is beyond the scope of private effort; the Government must attack it. Why should not the President and Congress agree upon a considerable appropriation, to be added to later if necessary, as a European reconstruction loan? Secretary Glass has recently urged such action upon Congress. The fund could be applied as a buying credit in this country to such countries and in such amounts as the President or some suitable government agency should determine, at a nominal interest and for a considerable number of years. Such use of American wealth would be not only humanitarian, but also in the widest sense practical and business-like, if for no other reason than that, without it, events promise an industrial cataclysm in Europe into which we, too, shall inevitably be swept. Beyond this, there is imperative need of continuing Federal control of food and of stimulating production to the utmost, in order to reduce waste, control prices, regulate distribution, and insure the maximum supply of food for export as well as for home consumption, until the world food crisis has passed.

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A Year of Revolution

"WITH Germany crushed and autocracy enthroned, with the strong hand of power at the throat of liberty, the battle opens which is to make men free." In these words *The Nation*, on May 17 last, greeted the Treaty of Versailles, whose promulgation marked the culminating effort of the financial and political imperialism that has ruled the world for half a century. Today, far earlier than we had anticipated, the Treaty of Versailles is all but repudiated and the peoples of the world are taking uncertain steps toward freedom. There is no need to rehearse the events of the past twelve months. We have known the failure of the attempt made at Paris to prop the old order; the breakdown of the old economic and financial organization; the progressive collapse of political authority; the astonishing spread among all classes of ideas only yesterday deemed utterly subversive; the many unprecedented outbreaks of economic and social unrest that have shaken every country in the world, from the United States and Great Britain to far-away China, India, and Australia; and, perhaps most striking of all, a steady progress of the armies of Soviet Russia and the strengthening and solidification of the communist organization of that country. Men cry Lo, here! and Lo, there! but the discerning perceive the truth; we live today in the midst of a revolution—a revolution of ideas and institutions and modes of life. Violence and bloodshed attend it from time to time as they have attended most of the revolutions of the past, but they are not of its essence nor of its making. If they come they may rather be the creation, as indeed we have already seen, of those who resist the revolution than of those who urge it on. God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

A year ago, Italian peasants were burning candles before the picture of President Wilson; today, some millions of men and women the world over, starving, freezing, dying, are grimly denouncing the statesmen who sacrificed honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas. A year ago, the peoples of Europe still hoped for salvation through the old institutions of government and the projected super-government of a League of Nations; today, a profound distrust of all government seems to pervade more and more the minds of men. A year ago, all save a small fraction of the people, in this country at least, appeared to believe that the shattered economic structure was capable of repair without another rebuilding; today, large numbers of the working classes, whether they work principally with the head or mainly with the hands, are questioning the whole foundation of privilege and property on which the present order of society rests, while many openly declare their purpose to change that foundation even though they topple down the entire structure in the process. A year ago, lulled by the honeyed promises of the war period, most men still believed that the new order might be builded in peace; today, disappointed by twelve months' experience of government promises unfulfilled, many of the same men declare, mistakenly we hope, that this revolution, like its predecessors, cannot escape the baptism of blood. On the one side the past year has brought hunger and misery and violent repression of all complaint; on the other, a mad profiteering, ostentatious luxury, and riotous excess of power. That in such soil revolutions grow, history shows.

The revolution which we are now witnessing is not merely negative and destructive, however. Certain positive concepts and modes of action begin to occur with amazing frequency. Losing faith in leaders, men gain faith in themselves; and we witness, the world over, spontaneous mass action creating its own leaders. Losing faith in the political side of government, men recognize their own power as parts of an economic government; by direct action through their trade unions and other voluntary organizations they are here and there taking over the power which the nerveless hands of politicians have dropped. Losing faith in the essential justice and honesty of the present economic system as they see that system applied, they are already in process of creating a new one. Witness the growth of coöperation, with all its revolutionary implications; the relentless pressure of labor for actual, not nominal, control of natural resources and the tools of production; and the growing demand for the nationalization of fundamental resources and the democratization of basic industries. All of these are phenomena never before so marked as in the year just closing. It is needless to do more than recall the land legislation of a half dozen European countries, the coal, railway, and general industrial situation in Great Britain, or the plans and programs of the Plumb Plan League, the Nonpartisan League, the Labor party, and the Committee of Forty-Eight in the United States. Such is the structure which the revolution is already building. The aim is service rather than profits; production rather than exploitation; administration rather than dominion; liberty rather than mastership. With an assurance of power at once alarming and inspiring the hosts are beginning to march forward, meeting misrepresentation, persecution, and violence with unwonted quiet and patience and with a significant absence of bluster, yet with a profound seriousness and determination that bode ill for those who do not try to understand what all this movement means.

It would be idle to deny that the greatest of all incentives to this new revolutionary movement has been the example of Russia. For good or for ill there have appeared in Russia the outlines of a huge social experiment whose shadows stretch in long uncertain lines over the whole of Europe and across the Atlantic to the American continent. The fact that government is breaking down everywhere, that the Allies and Americans in Paris have been unable to control the destinies of the world or settle such comparatively minor problems as Fiume and the future of Hungary, that in nearly every country there is unrest and unhappiness, has impelled men to look to Moscow to see whether there is anything in the strange new devices of government put into effect by the Communists which may with advantage be adopted elsewhere. It is anathema even to suggest this in America today, for the mists of falsehood that have surrounded the Russian situation are only gradually beginning to disappear. Yet the fact remains. The Russian experiment is still frankly an experiment. Its crudities and excesses and the violences which have accompanied it still bulk most largely in the prints. It is not yet clear what will be the residuum of good. But if out of it there comes something that is worth while in the way of new ideas in self-government and self-determination, the whole world will profit. So deep is the world's distress that men turn eagerly in any direction in which there seems to lie hope, and they will continue to do so in the coming year as eagerly as they have done in the year of world-wide revolution which is just ending.

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General Pershing's Report

THE Duke of Wellington was once assured that he would live in peoples' memories more for the beautiful style of his dispatches than for the merits of his victories. The Duke replied: "Yes; I didn't think Gurwood had it in him." Americans will always remember General Pershing not only as a most successful commander, but also as the author of a report upon the exploits of the American army in France worthy of the best American traditions. The report, just published, might have come from the pen of a Grant or a Sherman or a Lee. Extremely modest and free from any trace of self-praise—pretty clear proof that however many persons may have assisted in compiling the document, General Pershing himself shaped its language and dictated its spirit—it can be read by every American with unalloyed satisfaction. It is a simple, straightforward narrative, without verbosity or the least suggestion of fine writing, of what will go down into history as probably the most extraordinary achievement in military annals—the raising and transporting across the Atlantic of huge American armies and their successful handling under the most difficult and dangerous conditions, especially at the beginning. In General Pershing's report we have for the first time a clear picture, accompanied by official documents, of the extreme gravity of the situation which confronted the Allied armies in March, April, and May, 1918, when the Germans were in the full tide of their triumphant march upon Paris and when the Allies, with their backs to the wall, faced a prospect which seemed hopeless. It was in this their hour of distress that the Allied commanders turned to General Pershing, and no one can read the report without feeling that it was due to the adaptability and clear sight of that officer that the day was saved.

Two sound principles General Pershing, with the Wilson Administration behind him, insisted upon from the very beginning: that America would coöperate to the fullest extent with the Allies who were standing in the last ditch, but that the American troops must nevertheless be assembled in France and trained in old-fashioned open warfare. General Pershing's report tells us little of the tremendous fight he had to wage against the judgments of both the English and the French, who, up to the last, did not believe that such slightly trained American troops could successfully fight by themselves, and therefore wished our army to be distributed among their own commands. The American commander carried his point, while deviating from his principle sufficiently to lend troops where they were specially needed, and then proved beyond all question the extraordinary mettle and self-reliance of his men and their ability to win in separate operations. The war has now shown, as General Pershing has put it, that the "most striking qualities of both officers and men were the resourceful energy and common sense employed under all circumstances in handling their problems." It was, of course, impossible for him to select many individuals for special recognition in a report like this, but he does not hesitate to say, in words which honor him as well as the army, that "the memory of the unflinching fortitude and heroism of the soldiers of the line fills me with greatest admiration. To them I again pay the supreme tribute. Their devotion, their valor, and their sacrifices will live in the hearts of their grateful countrymen."

An official report rarely touches any save the high points of a campaign. It necessarily conceals or glosses over the seamy side, the hideous list of blunders, shortcomings, cruelties, and the frightful human waste that are the inevitable accompaniments of every campaign and that were not lacking in our own in France. We still read of minor instances of misconduct and of incredible waste of millions in the materials forwarded from this country with such tremendous labor and sacrifice. Yet the fact remains that as a whole it was a superlative achievement, and that in the forefront stand the individual soldiers. At St. Mihiel, in the almost impassable Argonne Forest, at Montfaucon, and along the Meuse, it was the private soldiers and the noncommissioned officers who won the day. While it was unfortunately true that organizations disintegrated under fire and that brigadier generals and major generals were more than once literally lost in the shuffle, the American soldiers had learned the prime requisite in their military training—to go straight to their objective and to take it regardless of consequences. Even when their officers failed, the men went on so far as sometimes to be compelled to give up the terrain they had taken at a costly price. General Pershing is right; the chief honor is theirs, and it is characteristic of him that he gives his men their due. We may have had commanding generals who, in the conditions they were called upon to meet, showed equal ability and character, but we have had none more modest and self-effacing, less inclined to play the hero, more generous in giving credit where credit was due. For the supreme work to be done he was an admirable choice, and his report will be a sufficient monument even if a grateful nation raises no other.

Prohibition and the Supreme Court

THE recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Kentucky and New York liquor cases, while widely heralded as a victory for national prohibition and hence as presumptive evidence that the Eighteenth Amendment would also be sustained, is at least as important because of the questions which it raises as it is because of those which it settles. Each of the two cases before the court had to do with the right of the plaintiffs to sell certain whiskey, held by them as producers or jobbers, notwithstanding the War-time Prohibition act of November 21, 1918. By that act the sale of distilled spirits, except for export, was forbidden after June 30, 1919, "until the conclusion of the present war, and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President." The Court had little difficulty in disposing of the contention that the act in question, however proper when it was passed, had ceased to be operative because the emergency of war had ceased to exist. The state of war, the decision points out, did not end with the conclusion of an armistice, nor has the President by proclamation declared that demobilization has terminated. If the act is constitutional upon other grounds, it is operative by reason of the continuance of the emergency which it recognized and whose chronological limits it defined.

In its consideration of the weightier constitutional aspects of the matter, on the other hand, the Supreme Court again showed itself more anxious, apparently, to uphold an

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act of Congress on an issue over which public opinion is obviously divided, than to plough deeply into the fundamental principles involved. The War-time Prohibition act is not repugnant to the Fifth Amendment, the Court declares, because "there was no appropriation of the liquor for public purposes," and because a period of seven months and nine days was allowed in which to dispose of stocks on hand. The first of these contentions will seem to laymen hardly more than a quibble. For what purpose, if not the public one of increasing war efficiency, was the sale of liquor prohibited? Is not the prohibition of a business by the public an appropriation of the property value of the business in everything except the name? So far as the period of seven months and more within which accumulated stocks might be disposed of is concerned, it may well be doubted if any competent body of business men would have adjudged so short a period to be sufficient to prevent substantial loss, especially as the only available avenue of sale was foreign trade. In any case, the loss from such forced sale amounts in practice to an appropriation of the amount involved.

In so far as the Supreme Court, in its decision, finds the War-time Prohibition act to be not repugnant to the Fifth or the Fourteenth Amendment, the ultimate decision as to the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment will, perhaps, be popularly regarded as foreshadowed. The Eighteenth Amendment, however, involves a far more fundamental question than that of property. The Federal Constitution, framed by the people, reserves to the people and to the States all rights which are not, by the Constitution, specifically or by clear implication granted to the United States. There is nothing in the Constitution or in the circumstances of its adoption to show that the States were ever expected to be of the same sort or to do things in the same way. One of the most important powers reserved to the States is the so-called police power—the power, in general, to regulate social intercourse and habits, to prescribe what one may or may not do, use, eat, or wear. The regulations of the States in such particulars may be wise or foolish, detailed or general; but such as they are they belong exclusively to the States, and they may be as varied and inconsistent as the several States choose to make them.

Is it competent for the States, by the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, to change one of the fundamental principles of American government which the Constitution itself recognizes and protects? May the Constitution be so amended as to prescribe uniformity where its spirit assumes diversity? This is the fundamental point raised by Rhode Island in the suit which that State has just filed in the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment. If, the Rhode Island brief argues, the powers of self-government which are guaranteed to the people of that State may be taken away at all, it can only be by act of the whole people of the State; if they cannot be taken away, then the action of Congress in framing and submitting the Amendment is "unconstitutional and revolutionary," and the action of the State Legislatures in ratifying it is void. No question quite so important has come before the Supreme Court for many years. If the contention of Rhode Island is sustained, the right of self-government which the Constitution guarantees to the people of all the States will continue unimpaired; if the contention is overthrown, that right will perhaps disappear so far as the police power is concerned, and the way be opened for a Federal centralization practically complete.

The Row Among the Physicists

AT first sight or sound the Einstein controversy looks like an Irish quarrel: much din and fury but not necessarily much cause. Nor have most newspaper explanations thrown anything but shadows across the matter. What they agree in is that the new theory is too difficult to explain, if not too difficult to understand. There are, it is said, but twelve men competent, and no one of them has spoken out. Professor Einstein himself, in a statement prepared for the London *Times*, contrives to keep his discovery adroitly to himself, almost as if it were a trade secret. So far, in short, as the mystery may be said to have escaped from the depths of mathematics at all, it still belongs, for the public, in the same category with the annual sea serpent, the seven-year mutation of our bodies, the jargon of Freud, the messages from Mars, the latest gossip concerning the health of the President, and the prophesied end of the world (which has again just failed to occur according to the prophecy). Certain troubled spirits, hearing the law of gravitation called in question, do not feel sure but that the earth may at any moment slip its Newtonian moorings and go ranging off out of gravitation into the ether—which we now hear does not exist.

Actually, what has happened is that a certain margin of error in physics—a margin long known by physicists, mathematicians, psychologists, and metaphysicians to be in existence—has been apparently narrowed by Professor Einstein's discovery of a new and highly complex formula. Two sets of facts help to establish the formula. One is that the planet Mercury has recently been found to follow a course which the Newtonian doctrine of attraction does not account for but the Einstein doctrine does. The other is that the light from certain stars has been shown to undergo deflection, in passing through the gravitational field of the sun, to an extent almost exactly in accordance with what Professor Einstein had predicted but not in accordance with calculations based on Newton. Of the truth of these facts there seems to be little question; many astronomical calculations will presumably have to be remade and there will have to be some new statements in physics and mathematics. The popular notion, however, having vaguely been that the Newtonian conception of space and time as absolute and changeless entities is an absolute and changeless law of nature, the Einstein corrections of Newton have been taken by a section of the public to be something enormously revolutionary, something that discredits Newton and Euclid, that almost discredits nature. If there is relativity in space and time, dare we trust our clocks or build fences around our gardens? Such a tremor over the theory reveals widespread and comprehensive ignorance of psychology, which for two hundred years has repeatedly insisted that space and time, whether entities or not, must always be relative to our sense perceptions. Mathematics, too, has not claimed to measure the universe exactly; has not claimed, that is, that the universe which that science postulates and studies is completely identical with the natural universe. In physics the entire period since Newton laid down his laws has been full of constantly shifting conceptions and new hypotheses seeking to bring more and more of the observed facts of nature within the limits of simpler and simpler statements of law. Religion and poetry, of course, have always known that space and time are relative.

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The Berger Victory

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

"PROTECT your home from Bolshevism"—this was the slogan of the supporters of H. H. Bodenstab, the "loyalist" candidate in the special election for Congress which was held in Milwaukee on Friday, the nineteenth, resulting in the reëlection of Victor Berger by 4,806 votes. It was the first American election into which the issue of Bolshevism was directly injected, and yet a majority of the voters in a district which comprises, besides many workingmen's homes, the richest residential section of Milwaukee elected this so-called Bolshevik, who has a sentence of twenty years in the penitentiary hanging over him, is out of prison under bail of $145,000, and has recently been disqualified as a member of Congress by an almost unanimous vote of the House of Representatives. All the forces of reaction and conservatism were against him; both the Republican and Democratic parties supported his opponent; every newspaper in the city opposed him with the exception of his own, *The Leader*, which is, outrageously enough, still denied the use of the mails by an abuse of governmental power. Despite these facts Mr. Berger was triumphantly reëlected, although only 10,000 of the 24,637 votes cast for him were Socialist, according to press dispatches. He thereby won the most remarkable personal triumph in our recent political history.

What was the reason for it? Has Milwaukee "gone Bolshevik," just as it was accused during the war of being pro-German? What induced it to vote for a convicted man? Why has a district comprising 53,000 citizens thus rebuked the Congress of the United States? There are various answers to these questions. In the first place the plain people of Milwaukee know and trust Victor Berger. He has lived among and been one of them for more than forty years. Indeed, he is known to all classes in the community and no one has ever questioned his absolute honesty. I talked with the president of one of the largest banks, who was certain that Mr. Berger was going to be defeated. Neither from him nor from any other of the representatives of the rich and powerful whom I met, could I obtain a word that reflected upon Mr. Berger's integrity or his loyalty to his country, or any belief in the theory that he deliberately set out to hinder recruiting and aid the enemy. Indeed, the question of Mr. Berger's conviction was not mentioned in the days that I was in the city.

Among Milwaukee's million-odd inhabitants, there are those, I suppose, who honestly beheld in Mr. Berger's candidacy the first step toward the nationalization of American women. The most effective criticism of him is due to some mistaken utterances published from time to time in Mr. Berger's *Leader*, which has expressed its sympathy with the Russian Bolshevists. It has, beyond that, done itself the credit of opposing the blockade which is daily starving Russian women and children to death. Mr. Berger's editors do make mistakes—other editors have been known to—and so does his tongue from time to time betray him, as, for instance, when he said on December 5 last, if correctly reported, "If we lose, there is no way but a bloody revolution." What he meant was that if the liberal Socialists fail to carry through their policy the extremists will take a hand. But his words as given above were obviously open to the misinterpretation that he was preaching violence. This Mr. Berger has never done; indeed, he insists that the conservative Socialists are the ones who should be entrusted with leadership lest wild radicals take hold. He has been denounced within his party many times during the past years for ultra-conservatism. If the Government were wise it would not be persecuting men of this type of mind, but would be encouraging them to pour oil upon the waters and to preach the doctrine of peaceful revolution. The difficulty is that judges and public men in this country do not know the difference between a conservative Socialist of the Berger type and the Spartacist kind. They lump them all in one and usually know no better than to believe that they are anarchists.

As to the essential rightness of Mr. Berger's attitude toward democracy and the spirit of our institutions, one has only to regard his private life and his own rugged self, and to study his record, in order to be convinced. Incidentally, Woodrow Wilson has admitted the correctness of the charge the making of which was Mr. Berger's early crime—that this was an economic war.

It is his socialism which is Victor Berger's chief offending. I am bold enough to believe that if he would renounce that he could have almost anything he wanted in Milwaukee that is within the gift of his non-socialist fellow-citizens. One of the men I heard most favorably spoken of in the business offices that I visited is one of the officeholders of the city who has recanted, left the Socialists, and "become good" again; but it is only fair to add that there is universal praise of the Socialist Mayor Hoan, whose administration has pleased everybody. The most that the supporters of Mr. Bodenstab could say against him was that he was too much under Victor Berger's influence and that he had not worked out any large constructive policies—as if the latter were possible in a city which is so nearly deprived of home rule as is Milwaukee. But the facts that Socialism in the City Hall has brought no catastrophe whatever to Milwaukee, that the city is growing remarkably, that there are several large new industrial plants under way calling for an expenditure of many millions of dollars, that twelve large Eastern concerns are negotiating for homes in Milwaukee, that there has been in the city of Milwaukee itself no strike lawlessness during the last few years and less industrial unrest than in most other cities, and that its bonds sell at higher prices than the bonds of any other city of its class in America—these facts show that if the Mayor has been under Victor Berger's influence the city has nothing to regret therefrom. Socialism in Milwaukee thus far has merely meant that the city is a good deal better governed than the average American town; it has not even meant the municipalization of the street railways and other public utilities.

Naturally I was positively informed that there was a great deal of deliberate traitorous pro-Germanism in Milwaukee. This was particularly the opinion of one who has distinguished himself by winning and accepting a decoration from the French Government for his services to it. But inquiry failed to produce the record of a single citizen convicted in Milwaukee for treason or seditious activities, with the exception of Mr. Berger. The truth is, by the way, that Milwaukee is not exclusively a German-American city, as so many Americans believe. There are large blocks of other foreign populations which make it one of our cosmopolitan municipalities. Thus there is a big Italian quarter, a Polish quarter, a Czecho-Slovak quarter, and there are many Russian Jews. From all these groups the Socialists have drawn support, but since the beginning of the war not from the

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Poles. They were detached from the Socialist movement by the Government's skilful propaganda and by raising the hopes of all Poles for the reconstitution of Poland as a result of the war. Now they are beginning to come back again into the Socialist ranks and many must have voted for Mr. Berger who did not do so a year ago. It must not be assumed from this that all of Mr. Berger's votes were drawn from the foreign-born voters. I met native Americans of old stock who were going to vote for Mr. Berger, but not because they themselves were Socialists or because they feel that Mr. Berger himself has been beyond criticism in his utterances. They are simply sick and tired of the kind of misgovernment under which we are living, the prostitution of power by Federal and State and local authorities, and the abandonment of American idealism, free speech, and personal liberty. They are tired of the sort of wrong-doing that is going on among our officials, as, for instance, when the Mayor of Waukegan forbade a meeting of the steel strikers the other day because at a previous meeting someone had said that if Abraham Lincoln were alive he would be in favor of the soviet form of government. On this ground the Mayor undertook to deprive 2,500 people of their Constitutional right to hold a public meeting. There is no denying the fact that the forces which are controlling America today are playing right into the hands of the extremists and that they have made a martyr of Victor Berger, forcing him into the position of being the leader of many people who have no use whatever for the socialist economic philosophy.

Many of these people see that there is a deep underlying principle involved in the Berger case, one that has made it of national importance. That is the right of a Congressional district to select its representative and have him seated. Congress has established a most dangerous precedent in barring Mr. Berger because of its dislike of his opinions as to the war and the future constitution of society. If Mr. Berger is again unseated in the face of this vote by his constituents the House of Representatives will have laid down the rule that in a case where no question of fraud or illegal election has arisen it has the right to say what man shall or shall not represent the Fifth Congressional District of Wisconsin. It is evident that this district will reëlect Mr. Berger as often as may be necessary, if he desires to keep up the fight, and that the net result may be that this district will be without a voice in the Congress of the United States, unless Congress abides by the sound precedent it established when Matthew Lyon of Vermont, who served a prison sentence while a member of Congress, was finally seated on reëlection. Of course, it is true that Congress established a precedent in the other direction when it yielded to public clamor and unseated Congressman Roberts on the charge of having been guilty of polygamous practices in Utah. But it should be guided by the older precedent and should avoid making a further martyr of Mr. Berger. Mr. Berger's district knew exactly what kind of man it was electing; it was fully informed of the charges against him and his sentence by the Federal Court. A majority of its voters have chosen him with their eyes open because they like and believe in Victor Berger and what he stands for. Should he be unseated it will add to the prevailing political unrest by further convincing large bodies of Americans that the powers-that-be are not willing to give a square deal to those who voice, wisely or mistakenly, the rising tide of popular discontent and dissent from present-day government policies.

The Committee of Forty-Eight

By LINCOLN COLCORD

WHEN three hundred delegates to the first conference of the Committee of Forty-Eight at St. Louis on December 9 found themselves apparently unable to hold a public meeting, the issue of true Americanism seemed to be fairly joined. Word had gone up and down the city that the American Legion had protested the proceedings, and was prepared to break them up. The stage was set for another of those exhibitions of lawlessness, mob violence, and suppression which have disgraced the records of many American cities during the last few months. The Committee of Forty-Eight, however, stood its ground. It engaged a prominent lawyer. It got out an injunction against the Statler Hotel, and received a sustaining decision from the Court at 2:30 p. m., on December 9. The disturbance was over as quickly as it had begun, and the grand ballroom of the hotel was thrown open for the afternoon session of the conference. Thereupon the facts began to come out. The local post of the American Legion issued a statement denying any such proceedings as were reported to have taken place at its meeting the previous evening. Instead, it appeared, a resolution proposing action against the Committee of Forty-Eight had been defeated by a vote of thirty to two. The whole incident gives a sinister picture of the forces at work in American life today, and of the possibilities of reaction that lie in almost every situation. To most of the delegates—lawyers, publishers, educators, manufacturers, men of business and affairs—it was a bitter first-hand lesson on the fundamental question of civil liberties.

The conference itself, when it finally got going, was the best town-meeting I have ever attended. Delegates kept arriving from the ends of the country. They were of all sorts and descriptions—and some of them were nondescript. They ranged from the farmer and the laborer to the educator and the manufacturer. They presented the finest assemblage of American types that could well be imagined. One felt that the coming of each delegate was itself a rich human story; one wanted to hear all the details of it. They distinctly were not a business crowd, as one knows such a crowd from Chamber of Commerce meetings or in bankers' or manufacturers' clubs. A business crowd is all of one type; it thinks all one way, and very little that way—the most un-American crowd to be met with in all our history. This conference of unknown delegates in St. Louis was a real American crowd; it had individuality, and all its members had individuality. It was a serious crowd, met for a sober purpose, and bringing to the achievement of that purpose a wide human experience in thought, sorrow, disappointment, and spiritual success. It was a crowd that had saved its soul.

And it promised, at first, to be a difficult crowd—until the democratic principle began to exert its beneficent influence. Every cult, movement, and organization of a radical nature was represented on the floor. Each one of these fierce individualists knew his own mind, and had his own special dogma for the salvation of the nation. The single taxers were present in force, with some of their most eloquent advocates to lead the argument. The money fanatics, with a scattering support of Populists and venerable Greenbackers, were ready for the fight of their lives. The group

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who sought the ratification of the peace treaty and the League of Nations were waiting their opportunity. There were those who wanted the immediate formation of a new party, and those who wanted immediate affiliation with the American Labor party. There were those who believed that nothing could be accomplished without the revision of the Constitution. There were those who wanted a budget system, and those who wanted a responsible ministry, and those who wanted a law for open diplomacy. There were those who wanted all sorts of planks on foreign relations: the lifting of the Russian blockade, the recognition of the Republic of Ireland, no American mandate for Armenia, and so forth. There were those who wanted a plank against conscription and military training. There were those who wanted a plank opposing the deportation of alien radicals.

Everyone talked, every argument came forward, and nearly all of them were right and good. Yet, little by little, as the conference progressed, it began to create its own atmosphere of political wisdom, and a new idea passed around. This idea ran somewhat as follows: "We have a special job: to organize the independents. We are met here, not to determine everything that ought to be done, or to advocate everything that everybody wants, but solely to determine what we can agree upon. We want to draw up a program that will win the support of the greatest number of independents, and that will at the same time hit at the heart of the economic power which now controls the government and the political machinery. If a Congress or an Administration could be elected on such a program, these special claims would find themselves automatically adjusted, these especial grievances would all be wiped away. But on a program of special claims and grievances we never could win political success, because we never could achieve unity or enlist wide support.

This new idea quickly settled down to a few compelling phrases: "A simple program, a short program, a post-card program, a purely economic program." True politics is religion; the atmosphere that this conference created was profoundly religious in its significance, and the simple political wisdom of the Bible became its watchword: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The line between true politics and false politics, between simplifying a right program and sacrificing principle to popularity, is a narrow one; but the Committee of Forty-Eight kept plainly on the right side. The program committee sat for eight hours listening to ten-minute speeches in advocacy of special plans; then brought in to the conference on the third day a program of three planks, containing 140 words, which was adopted after vigorous discussion. The program reads:

1. Public ownership of transportation, including stockyards, large abattoirs, grain elevators, terminal warehouses, pipe lines and tanks. Public ownership of other public utilities and of the principal natural resources, such as coal, oil, natural gas, mineral deposits, large water powers, and large commercial lumber tracts.

2. No land (including natural resources) and no patents to be held out of use for speculation to aid monopoly. We favor taxes to force idle land into use.

3. Equal economic, political, and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color. The immediate and absolute restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. We demand the abolition of injunctions in labor cases. We endorse the effort of labor to share in the management of industry and labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing.

That is all there is to the program—an easy document to criticize. To the socialist, it will look like a compromise of the worst kind. To the guildsman, the advanced labor thinker, or the student of modern industrial conditions, it will seem a sketchy outline of a muddy economic conception. Personally, although I sat on the program committee at St. Louis, this program does not at all represent my point of view. I cannot see it as any basis for ultimate economic change. Yet there is nothing in it that I object to; I can approve of it as a necessary intermediate step. That is the point. There were some twenty-five men and women on the committee. We came down to what we could agree upon. And I am willing to admit that, on the score of politics, this program offers a far more workable basis than my particular program would afford.

The conference covered a good deal more ground than I have been able to outline. It listened to many speeches; Allen McCurdy, temporary chairman, made a notable keynote address; Duncan MacDonald came with a message from the American Labor party, and Pethick Lawrence brought the wisdom of British Labor party experience to the occasion. Resolutions were adopted opposing the passage of the Esch and Cummins railroad bills, opposing universal military training, advocating a referendum on a declaration of war, calling for the lifting of the Russian blockade and the removal of American troops from Russia, calling for the release of all political prisoners, and urging that our Government make every effort to secure universal disarmament by international agreement.

This, to me, is the chief significance of the experiment. A new political alignment and a coming together of radical groups and forces is inevitable. If this basic principle of democracy can be maintained intact, it will double the strength of the movement at the beginning. The Committee of Forty-Eight represents only one, and the least important, of the groups which must somehow come together. I saw no disposition on the part of the group at St. Louis to exceed their natural and legitimate function, that of organizing the independent radical fringe. No attempt was made to form a political party, beyond the decision to hold a national convention not later than July 1, 1920. No ambitious leader came forward. No one felt exalted or superior. Nothing great had been achieved. The program might be thrown into a new hopper, and would probably be chopped into bits. Yet it would serve well for a while.

It is confidently to be hoped that conventions of all the radical groups can be held next summer in the same city and on the same dates. Then the effort for amalgamation will be made. What will come of it, lies on the knees of the gods. The machine politicians are scornful; they point to third-party precedents, and refuse to be troubled. But the machine politicians have not yet discovered that there are no precedents for the present situation. Least of all do they foresee the economic happenings of the next few months or comprehend the tremendous shift in political psychology which will occur if the cost of living rises another fifty per cent. It is high time for the birth of a new party. The Republican party sprang out of the question of slavery, a localized economic issue. Today we have a universal economic issue, an issue of staggering proportions—and no party of the economic opposition. The political vacuum will be filled.

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Military Justice and Injustice

By SAMUEL T. ANSELL

WHAT is the matter with our code of military justice? This is a question frequently asked nowadays by many who fear or suspect or believe or know that something is wrong with it, without knowing what. These inquirers are particularly interested because until recently they had sons or relatives or friends in the emergency establishment subjected to this system of military justice, of whom some were so unfortunate—or would not the War Department worshippers of the system say fortunate?—as to have had this military brand of justice applied directly to them; and most of the others, though escaping direct contact with the system, observed, and once out of uniform have not hesitated to declare, that it had little in common with any kind of justice familiar to them. These are thoughtful citizens honestly seeking to be informed upon a matter that is at all times of general importance—for, after all, justice is the highest interest of man on earth—and one that is likely at any moment to become of immediate personal concern.

For no longer are any so blind as not to discern, nor any so gullible as not to believe, that this is not the last war. Indeed, there is ample reason for the apprehension that a political leadership crying "Peace, peace" has brought us to the verge of world-wide strife, to the margin of the world welter of blood. An Administration that prated peace and spurned all preparation for war up to the very moment of plunging the country into the bloody flood has nevertheless proved not unpopular. The same Administration now loudly proclaims, sword in hand, that it is about to usher in the era of universal peace, all the while insisting, however, upon quintupling the permanent military and naval establishments. Bad statecraft has changed our normal risk of war into a certainty of war, to be fought, of course, by your children and mine. Well may the ordinary citizen become thoughtful and manifest more than passing interest in the system of law which is to determine the treatment his soldier-son is to receive from his military superior. So much for these honest, anxious inquirers.

But there are others of a different mind who cry "What is the matter with military justice?" only that they may, after the familiar manner of college boys, chant in unison the resounding, approving response, "It's all right!" Among this isolated throng, standing on the martial campus, transported by a callow sense of loyalty and a pernicious *esprit de corps*, will be found many of our professional, and near-professional, and would-be professional officers whose worship of military caste and tradition leads them stoutly to defend the system, and those civilian chief administrators whose self-protective sense, in view of their partial responsibility for the continued maintenance of the pernicious system, impels them to advocate it. Among this chorus, besides these military minions of the War Department who behave true to form and as expected of them after the enthusiastic manner of "undergrads," are to be seen many of those who have returned to the support of the Old Establishment with the patronizing and proprietary air of the "old grad."

Notwithstanding popular anxiety for and distrust of the existing system, the authorities are intent that it shall be maintained in its militaristic essentials and that its evils shall not be known or remedied. Officialdom insists upon supporting the system as it stands, and to that end denies the public access to its records, ignores complaints of injustice, suppresses facts showing its viciousness, and gives expressions of approval to virtues that are assumed, but do not exist. Notwithstanding that military justice involves our national safety, affects the morale of our soldiery, and influences the attitude of our people towards military service; notwithstanding it should be the object of sustained solicitude and highly sensitive regard upon the part of the Secretary of War, who should be receptive to all complaints of injustice to our soldiers, alert to discover imperfections in the system or its administration, quick to take and recommend the amplest remedies, the Secretary upon every occasion when evidence of official and popular dissatisfaction has been presented to him, from however high a source, has invariably set about not to inquire, not to investigate, not to remedy, but to defend. Of course, in assuming this attitude he has but done the bidding of the ultra-militaristic element in the Army.

There have been investigations, to be sure, of the whitewashing variety. A judge advocate was despatched to Europe in April last to investigate the European systems of military justice, a field which I covered a year before and upon which I submitted a report that was never read. The report of this special "investigator," discriminatingly designated and instructed by his military superiors, may be expected to prove that our system is beyond compare. A committee of the American Bar Association was also appointed which contained just enough of fair-minded personnel to give to the public the appearance of fairness. If that Committee was not "hand-picked," we have the strangest case of coincidence known. In any event, it was "personally conducted" by the War Department, and heard and heeded but the War Department side. Such an investigation, of course, could have no result but of forestalling improvement. The American bar thus lost a great opportunity for public service of which it is to be hoped the British bar, now engaged in a similar undertaking, may avail itself.

Then the War Department, piling Pelion on Ossa, convened a board of its own—the Kernan Board—consisting of two Regular Army officers of high rank, one National Army officer "militarized" after brief service and association with Regular superiors, and a National Guard major-general dependent for his success, if not his place, upon the good graces of the War Department. This Board reported in effect that this system has virtues seldom found in human institutions; that military justice is *sui generis*, is incomprehensible to and is not to be judged by our ideas of natural or ordinary legal justice; that military justice and the methods of obtaining it cannot be regulated by law, but must necessarily be left to the "Chancellor's foot" of the uncontrolled will of military commanders; and then, disporting themselves in the foreign field of fundamental law, this military board learnedly and at great length advised the Department that Congress was to be flouted if it should undertake, by subjecting court-martial procedure to laws of its own enactment, to encroach on the royal prerogatives inherited from the British king by our Commander-in-Chief

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and his military subordinates. This report, autocratic rescript of the Great German General Staff rather than the expression of officers of our Army born to the American spirit and sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States, promptly received the royal sanction and signature of full approval of the Secretary of War, who evidently takes kindly to the imperial rôle.

Our code of military justice (technically known as the Articles of War) is not a code of law at all; it is nothing more than a code that licenses military commanders to do as they please. Having regard to its origin, it could not be otherwise. Systemically and largely in detail it is the British code of 1774, which itself is of much more ancient origin, going back essentially unmodified through Gustavus Adolphus to the Roman Empire. Of course the very age of a law may indicate—indeed prove—its beneficence, but the age of a military criminal code indicates infirmities. The last century and a half have served to change the whole attitude of the state toward a criminal or a criminal suspect, and have served to change the entire relation of a soldier to his country. It is conceded on all hands that this ancient code is our code today, unless it was fundamentally changed by the so-called "revision of 1916." That revision, now on its defense, is heralded abroad as modernizing and liberalizing the ancient Articles. Such, however, was not its declared purpose and such is not its legal effect. The Department, when submitting it, expressly disclaimed all idea of fundamental change, and announced that the real purpose of the revision was to cause the language of the code to conform to settled administrative and judicial construction, and to classify the Articles so as to make them more convenient and accessible.

The Judge Advocate General himself summed it up when he said: "If Congress enacts this revision, the service will not be cognizant of any material changes in procedure and courts will function much the same as heretofore. . . . The revision will make certain a great deal that has been read into the existing code by construction."

According to the ancient British code, and ours, a court-martial is not to be regarded as a court doing justice under established principles of law and independently of all personal power. Quite the contrary. It regards the court-martial simply as the right hand of the commanding officer to aid him in the maintenance of discipline. It is his agent, controlled by and answerable to him. Such was the ancient British view. The army was the King's army. The King made the Articles of War; defined the military offenses; prescribed the punishments; constituted the court. In that day a soldier was not a citizen serving the state in the highest capacity of citizenship; he was a serf, a personal retainer of the King or the King's officer. Our Constitution contemplated an entirely different theory. Under it Congress is to make the Articles of War, create and define the offenses, prescribe the punishments, and establish the composition of the courts; it ought to follow that the courts themselves should be answerable not to any commanding officer but to the law of the land. The truth is, our Articles of War came out of one theory of government and our Constitution was designed to establish another. We took them by witless adoption to meet an emergency in our Revolution and have never since been sufficiently interested to bring them into consonance with our institutions. This code is as fit to govern an army of citizen soldiers as the old turnpike laws are fit to govern modern commerce.

Under this officer-caste system an officer can prefer charges against any man and at his will can readily succeed in getting him tried, acting by virtue of his commission and under no special obligation. The code requires no preliminary investigation to determine whether the accusation is well grounded and a trial should be had, and such investigation as is required by regulations is neither thorough nor effective. A thorough preliminary quasi-judicial investigation would doubtless reduce the number of courts-martial by half.

The power of military command, and not applied law, determines every question of law that can arise during these criminal proceedings. The military commander (1) determines whether the accusation is legally sufficient and the evidence establishes a *prima facie* case against the accused; (2) selects "counsel" for the accused; (3) details the officers to constitute the court, who, subject to the superior judgment of the commanding officer, act as both judge and jury the accused having no voice in their selection; (4) determines all questions of the admissibility of evidence; (5) every question touching the rights of the accused on trial; (6) every question of the regularity and legality of the proceedings; and finally approves, disapproves, or returns to the court for modification, according to his view, the finding of guilt or innocence and the punishment awarded.

The views of the military commander are final beyond all review. His is the power to decide these inherent questions of law by the fiat of military command. The standard of trial not being a legal standard, there can be, properly speaking, no such thing as error of law. What under any system regulated by law would be grossest reversible or even annihilating error becomes error or not solely according to his *ipse dixit*. And there is no court or superior authority to which an accused man may appeal.

This is one criminal code, highly criminal at that, that has no place for lawyer or judge. To be sure, a lawyer is provided, in an extra-legal way, to serve on the staff of the commander who exercises these autocratic functions. He may only "advise," and his advice is accepted or rejected upon questions of pure law by the military commander endowed with that power as though they were technical military questions. In other words, the code, as it stands, confers the same competency upon the military commander to determine questions of pure law as to determine matters inherently belonging to military command. Even the legal opinions of the Judge Advocate General of the Army, the highest law officer in the Army and the Chief of the Bureau of Military Justice, are by the General Staff statute made expressly subject to the "supervision" of the Chief of Staff, the head of the hierarchy of military command. Of course, such military supervision places, and is intended to place, military command beyond legal regulation.

Just as might be expected by reason of its imperial origin, the code is a "do-as-you-please" code. The code says to the court-martial and the superior military commander "You may decide any conduct you please to be a crime under the code, and *ipso facto* it becomes such." It says to the court "You may award any punishment you please for any offense you please." It says to the court "You need follow no rules of evidence, but only your own inquisitive sense in determining what evidence shall be adduced." And then it says to the superior military commander "If you are not satisfied with what the court does, you may in most instances substitute your own reviewing judgment."

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Look at the substantive portions of the code. Surely a criminal code ought to define the offenses and, within reasonable limits, the punishments. In this code there are forty-two punitive articles. Most of them leave the offenses to be defined according to customary military law, or what the officers believe to be such. What, pray, does a citizen soldier know about the customs of the military service? Twenty-nine of the forty-two articles prescribe that the offenses denounced therein "shall be punished as a court-martial may direct"; that is, with any punishment that a court may see fit to award, except death. Eleven of the articles provide the punishment of death "or such other punishment as a court-martial may direct." Two articles make the death penalty mandatory. For a trivial offense, therefore, a court-martial may award any punishment up to and sometimes including death. With such unrestricted latitude, is it any wonder that court-martial punishments in harshness and variation pass all understanding? Then, too, permitted as they are to disregard those rules of evidence which are "the result of the collective wisdom of generations, founded on the principles of immutable equity," courts-martial may at any time find anybody guilty of anything.

Stealing the Kaiser's Stuff

By BERTRAM BENEDICT

1914

No, sir, I'm dead against Germany and I hope she's licked
In this awful war that's just broke out.
I'll tell you why: Germany isn't democratic.
She won't follow the trend of the times,
She won't listen to the ideas of the future,
She stands pat on her present way of doing things,
She has a closed mind.
She actually puts people in jail just for attacking her constitution,
Although it was written years ago to meet old conditions,
Not modern ones.
There was this Rosa Luxemburg, the Red Rose, they call her—
Of course, she's a Socialist,
But then it's a good sign how autocratic Germany is,
The way she discriminates against Socialists;
Everybody's got a right to their opinions, I say, no matter what they are,
After all, we're all Socialists today—
Well, this Rosa Luxemburg was sent to jail
Just for bringing into disrepute, as the Kaiser says,
The German Government, or its ruler, or its institutions,
Or its flag, or its army, or its uniform, or its suppression of free speech,
Or something like that
(Thank God, I live in a democratic country);
And the judge told her, when he sentenced her to jail,
That she was a foreigner—a Russian, I believe—
And therefore had no right to criticize the country she had come to.
Said if she didn't like the way the Germans ran their country,
She could go back to Russia; imagine that!
As if it makes any difference where a new idea comes from
Or who it comes from, if only it's a good idea!
Why, they won't even let the Socialists wave a red flag
At their own private meetings.
You know me, I'm no Socialist, although there are some good points
About Socialism;
Only, I believe in evolution, not revolution.
But the Socialists say the red flag stands for
The red blood of human brotherhood, and I call that a pretty idea.
Then look at the special privilege given the army in Germany.
Again and again soldiers break up meetings, peaceful meetings,
Of workingmen and radicals
Who're planning for a better Germany—
Sincere plans, even if they're foolish—
Well, soldiers break up meetings and never get arrested or punished
Just because they're wearing the uniform.
I bet civilians in Germany could break up a meeting of soldiers
And escape arrest—like hell.
Another thing I don't like about Germany:
She suppresses newspapers and magazines and even people she don't happen to like.
Uncover a plan to change the German system of government,
Just because you love your Fatherland, y' understand,
And for that reason want to see her weak points made strong
And want to see other nations have a better opinion of her—
Well, what happens to you?
You're suppressed, that's what,
And you're lucky if you're not sent to jail
Five, ten, twenty years in the bargain.
A democratic country, now, always gives free play to minority opinions.
Look at the United States, f'r instance.
Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition.
Got a new idea?
All right, bring it out; let's look at it.
Let the light o' day shine on it,
Put it before the people,
Argue for it, let your opponents argue against it,
Then the people judge it solely on its merits and make up their own minds on it.
Nine times out o' ten, of course, it's a rotten idea;
Anyhow, we give it a chance.
That's democracy.
But Germany tries to prevent her people from thinking certain things.
A country like that's got to be smashed and smashed hard, I tell you;
Germany's got a closed mind.

1919

I tell you, what we need in this country
Is a few more lynchings.
Trying to overthrow the government, are they?
We'll overthrow them, the damned traitors!
They can call themselves whatever they like—
Socialists, anarchists, pacifists, communists, syndicalists, feminists, atheists,
Bolsheviki, I. W. W., conscientious objectors,

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Or just plain fool radicals—
They're all traitors.
There isn't one of them who don't believe in free love.
You can't reason with dirty dogs like that.
If you treat 'em gently and coddle 'em,
They only think you're afraid of 'em, of them and their like.
Stringing up a few of 'em to lamp-posts,
That's the only kind of treatment they understand, I tell you.
Foreigners, mostly!
If they don't like the way we run our country,
Why don't they go back where they came from?
We don't want their new ideas;
We're satisfied with the ideas we already got and have had for more than a hundred years.
Trying to change our institutions and the Constitution
Handed down by the fathers of this great republic,
More than a century ago!
Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Daniel Webster,
Their ideas are good enough for the old U. S. A.
We don't need any quack doctors to prescribe for us, not yet.
Look what they've done in Russia.
See here, a nation's got to have unity.
People who don't like the way we do things, let them get out.
Why, you've no idea how those fellows have wormed their way into our life.
In the schools, f'r instance.
If I had my way, I'd kick out of the school system tomorrow
Every teacher who had any sympathy at all with Socialist ideas.
How can a teacher teach Americanism, one hundred per cent. Americanism,
If they're a Socialist?
Everybody knows that every Socialist is a pro-G——
I mean, a pro-Bolsheviki.
Am I right or wrong?
Why, they're even trying to hold meetings to explain the Soviet idea,
Explain it to a lot o' ignorant, irresponsible working-people!
The boys in uniform, you bet they know what's what.
Did you see how, the other day, they broke up a lot o'
Radical meetings and beat up everybody who had a red flag or a red tie?
That's the way to do it.
That's the answer of democracy to Socialism.
And, say, if one of those Reds had as much as
Raised a finger against a single man in uniform,
I'd of been willing to start a little rope-party myself,
Right on the spot.
Then they'd 've had a real Red celebration.
And these high-brow radical and liberal papers,
They got to be suppressed, too.
They capitalize discontent.
Parlor Socialists, and boudoir Bolsheviki, and impractical theorists, every one.
I tell you, you can't be fish and fowl both much longer in this country—
You got to stand up and be counted.
Universal military training, that's the answer.
That'll teach respect for authority: respect for the Government,
And its head, and its institutions, and its flag, and its army,
And its policies, and everything like that.
That'll stop Wilson's flirting with radicalism,
And show Sam Gompers where he gets off.

Literature

Lions and Lambs

How the War Came. By the Earl Loreburn. London: Methuen & Co.

HERE at last comes an unequivocal denunciation of the old order of secret diplomacy in foreign affairs, from the pen of one whose name and long connection with the British Government will insure for the subject more attention and a wider audience than the criticisms of those who have hitherto assailed it from without. Such an application of common sense, honesty, and plain speaking should go far towards allaying the virulence of war hatreds and deflating national conceits, at present so unduly swollen by propaganda; the book destroys the fondly cherished illusion that Germany was the one black sheep among the many white lambs and distributes the initial blame for the war among all the nations originally involved, while at the same time in no way minimizing the particular guilt of German militarism.

Whatever further revelations as to the origin of the war may come to light, Lord Loreburn has collected sufficient evidence between the covers of this book to discountenance completely the diplomatic methods of the old school, on grounds both of morality and expediency. It is an unsavory path he has to tread in tracing out the causes of the conflict, but his purpose is no love of scandal, but an earnest desire to bring about better international relations. "If it were not for the necessity of preventing a like catastrophe from recurring again," he says, "every one would try to forget these deplorable reminiscences, now that the danger is over. But it is necessary to remember these things in order to prevent the same trouble from overtaking us again."

In an initial summary of the pre-war situation, Lord Loreburn strikes the keynote of his argument by absolving British Ministers from all intention of promoting war, while at the same time arraigning them mercilessly for drifting into, and keeping secret from Parliament, entanglements which effectually prevented them from localizing the struggle when it broke out. This somewhat naïve attitude is in itself an illustration of the weakness and danger of the old system of armed and rival camps in Europe. For although it is natural for any nationalist, knowing and therefore having confidence in the peaceful propensities of his own people, to discount warlike preparations and secret understandings on the part of his own government, these things will nevertheless always seem ominous to neighboring nations.

Describing the pre-war storm centers, Lord Loreburn gives an unusually clear account of the insoluble puzzle presented by the racial and geographical differences of the various Balkan States, and a most just historical survey of the Alsace-Lorraine question. As it turned out, "The storm came in the end from the East, but Great Britain would not have been involved, nor would France, had it not been for the Western trouble." Subsequently, taking up each belligerent in turn, he pitilessly examines their records and reveals their policies, always bearing in mind that there is still probably much that we do not know. In point of fact a good deal more evidence has become available even in the short time since his book went to press. If such testimony as that of M. Bogitschevitch, a former Serbian chargé d'affaires, and of M. De Schelking, a Russian diplomatist, remains undisputed, we have already considerably more light on the relations between Czarist Russia and Serbia; not to mention the account of M. Isvolsky's negotiations published in the *Pravda*, and Lord Fisher's circumstantial corroboration of Jaurès's assertions as to warlike activities on the part of the Entente as far back as 1905. All these things, though, however they may vary the differing degrees of responsibility, only give added point to such assertions of Lord Loreburn's as the following:

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"Able, courageous, broad-minded men are very rarely to be found under such a system as prevails in Foreign Offices. It was said long ago that, internationally speaking, Europe is simply a number of wicked old gentlemen wearing decorations. Certainly it is true that in and before 1914 the Foreign Offices of the various European States had contrived to exclude almost entirely every popular or Parliamentary influence from control over foreign affairs by keeping knowledge, which is power, in their own possession. They were so profoundly convinced of their own supreme ability as to regard any interference from outside almost in the light of a desecration. Recent experience has taught the nations to think very differently of diplomatists, and they cannot be allowed to throw dust in the eyes of the public any longer. Not a single one of the men who had real power was wise enough and strong enough to arrest the military demon that was about to bring upon us all the most awful catastrophe in human history. And after this war had commenced, though very many of them from motives either of fear or of humanity desired to see it ended, they had so committed themselves to one another or were so distrustful of each other's private intentions for the future that they could not close the conflict for the origin of which they had been themselves responsible. Meanwhile the guiltless peoples were destroyed."

A generous warmth of sympathy is accorded to all peoples throughout this book. "We must learn," says Lord Loreburn, "to sympathize with peoples and to judge of their actions and interests on their merits, without always identifying them as hitherto with their governments." And he misses no opportunity of putting the blame for all wars exclusively on rulers and those in power, and declaring that "no treaties or engagements ought to be valid without the consent of the nation's representatives."

It is surely fair to criticize a book of such wide sympathies from a broader point of view than most, but to do this necessitates pointing out that in this variegated picture of national rivalries, old standing feuds, and secret jealousies, the disintegrating moral effects of French and British Imperialism are sometimes touched on rather too lightly, as, for instance, in the case of Morocco, where the secret clauses to the treaty of Algeciras and the suspicion and irritation engendered by them are left altogether out of account; and such dealings as the Anglo-Russian agreements with regard to Persia also find no place in these pages, though all such acts undoubtedly contributed to the general state of friction which culminated in the war.

The idea that Great Britain entered the war on behalf of Belgium is emphatically disproved, and it is shown, on the contrary, how Belgian interests were necessarily set aside by Great Britain, too tied to France to be able to take such a firm stand in support of Belgian neutrality as had saved that little country from invasion in 1870. It is indeed the recession of British Liberal ministers from the traditional paths of British Liberalism, without the knowledge and consent of the country or even of Parliament, which is the centre of Lord Loreburn's complaint against them. He stresses the fact that "we" (i.e., the British) "are not in a practical sense a self-governing country at all in regard to foreign affairs so long as Parliament does not exercise a real control over the proceedings of those who manage our foreign affairs." And he denounces Great Britain's previous commitment to the war, by which she was secretly in honor bound to participate, in such terms as the following: "We entered upon a war to which we had been committed beforehand in the dark, and Parliament found itself at two hours' notice unable, had it desired, to extricate us from this fearful predicament. We went to war unprepared in a Russian quarrel because we were tied to France in the dark." At the same time, no matter how much blame he attaches to the Entente Powers for the widespread nature of the conflagration, Lord Loreburn reverts always to the greater blame due the German military caste, though he does the German people the justice to admit that "past history has had a very full share in making the Germans what they are. It was the fear of France and Russia which led Germans to accept that rigid military system which has led to such frightful results."

Recalling how in the early years of the war the British Government were represented as men who had reluctantly entered the conflict for the noblest of human ideals, which the military masters of Germany were violating, Lord Loreburn goes on to say: "Our Ministers had on the anvil at the same time a series of engagements with our Allies, undisclosed to the public, which committed us to schemes of territorial conquest on an unprecedented scale for the increase of our own and our Allies' dominions, often at the expense of small nationalities all over the world. . . . They are of so wide a scope that if they are to be fulfilled the mankind of this country might be occupied for years of warfare in enforcing them." With regard to the United States, he says: "When America came into the war and turned the tide of victory their statesmen were too wise to join in these secret treaties. Indeed, their Constitution did not admit of their doing so. . . . No one ever ventured to ask the American Government to sign these treaties, because everyone must have known that the Senate would have refused its assent." And he expresses the hope "that other nations also will put an end to this pestilent system of concealment which has done so much harm."

With regard to a league of nations, Lord Loreburn thinks that "if we miss this opportunity of uniting the honest nations in a common bond, they may drift asunder and leave us face to face with another European war when time has passed. . . . Whether any League of Nations will succeed or not must depend upon the spirit in which it is worked. If there are defects in its machinery, they can be repaired in the light of experience. But the spirit is everything. Experience has proved to all nations that men dealing in private with great subjects cannot in any department be trusted with uncontrolled power." And he issues a further warning: "But reconciliation must come before the League can really succeed, and the prospect of this seems to be daily becoming more remote. Seven million young men have already been killed, and twenty million disabled, many of them permanently disabled. We have dealt a knock-out blow to all our enemies. Yet the secular hatreds which have infested Europe for centuries remain unappeased, and unhappily, perhaps inevitably, the terms imposed on Germany and, so far as we know, projected for Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, bid fair to add a new crop of hatreds no less implacable than the old. Up to the present time the last state of Europe is worse than the first. It always has been so and always will be so where Imperialism gets the upper hand."

The Old New York Aristocracy

The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York. By Dixon Ryan Fox. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. Longmans, Green and Company.

UNDER this slightly ambiguous title, Dr. Fox, assistant professor of history in Columbia University, has given us an account of the decline of Federalism in the State of New York and its eventual transformation into the Whiggism of the forties. His narrative is a continuous panorama of party activities and beliefs and of the careers and influence of party leaders during forty years of New York's history. It runs from the days of John Jay, Elisha Williams, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and others of those who represented the property rights and aristocratic privileges of the eighteenth century, to Thurlow Weed, the anti-renters of 1837, and the Tippecanoe clubs, log cabins, and hard cider of the Harrison and Tyler campaign. Thus, as far as it goes, it illustrates the influence of industrial development and geographical expansion upon party standards and standard bearers during a very important period of American history.

Probably no State of the period offers so conspicuous an opportunity to study this influence as does New York. No State had so large and dominating a body of aristocrats, founding

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their claims to power on the possession of property, opposing democracy as a system of government, upholding conservatism and regular habits as essential to good order, and firmly adhering to the dictum of Chancellor Kent "that to the beneficence and liberality of those who have property we owe all the embellishments and the comforts and blessings of life." They represented the gentility as against the masses, the exponents of wealth and talent, destined by divine law to govern for the benefit of all the rest. They believed in government for the people, but not by them, because the object of government was, as Locke had said long before, the preservation of property, and none but the wise and good should be entrusted with so important a function. Their idea was that government should be in the hands of a part, acting as trustees for the whole of the people.

As an analysis of the conditions under which the centre of political gravity was shifted from the old party of lawyers, bank presidents, merchants, and land-holding aristocrats to the "people," vested by the revised Constitution of 1821 with the right to vote, this essay is both suggestive and informing. It looks backward to the Revolution in showing how little that disruptive movement was concerned with political liberty, and forward to the future as disclosing the circumstances of a political and economic revolution of enormous importance in advancing the cause of democratic control in America. It reminds one constantly of similar peaceful revolutions taking place, *mutatis mutandis*, at later times in our own country, England, and the Continent, and in the comments and criticisms evoked it recalls some of the features of public opinion expressed during the late war. One should read the chapter on "Mr. Madison's War" if one would find charges of "shameful unpreparedness," expressions of hostility for England, undercurrents of pessimism, and an inclination generally to place party allegiance above the country's good that are all reminiscent of very recent events. Even those who are concerned with the present industrial situation can discover some things in this book that are pertinent to an understanding of that important aspect of our affairs.

The work is preëminently a study of men and politics, not of measures and opinions, though the latter are not neglected. It deals with party areas and localities, with party strategy and the influence of leaders, such as Seward, Weed, Greeley, and the many others who drew around them voters of wavering opinions. It tells a very human story, in which a long procession of men pass before us, each actuated by definite interests—social, financial, and industrial—and reacting in one way or another to the circumstances of ancestry, property, and environment. The gentlemen of the Hudson Valley, the workmen in the cities, and the farmers in the western counties all play their parts. The three outstanding types are Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, De Witt Clinton, the combiner and divider of parties, and Thurlow Weed, the journeyman mechanic who became a party manager and a master of bargain and intrigue. Thus the old aristocrat, the man of a transitional era, and the astute manipulator of a democratic machine seem to embody in themselves the characteristics of the three periods through which Mr. Fox carries his readers. His study of Clinton is exceedingly well done, for he has found in the transitional character of the period the key to much in Clinton's career hitherto not easily understood. His conclusions regarding this enigmatical person are as follows: Clinton was an unsuccessful politician, but a great governor; an unpopular leader, but a resourceful and efficient administrator; a man unsuited to a larger stage of political action, because a certain instability of principle, due in part at least to the changing character of the period in which he lived, would have wrecked his reputation in the wider field of national politics. Mr. Fox thinks that Clinton was fortunate in his death, for he had accomplished the work that he was best fitted—and perhaps all he knew how—to perform. As it was, there could be no anti-climax.

Major Playwrights

Plays. By Jacinto Benavente. Second Series. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero. Edited by Clayton Hamilton. E. P. Dutton and Company.

More Portmanteau Plays. By Stuart Walker. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company.

THE second volume of the plays of Jacinto Benavente enlarges and confirms the impression made by the first. His importance is not, like that of Blasco Ibáñez, among the Idols of the Market-place. It is a fact that can escape no competent observer. But it is a joyless fact. Having begun, we shall all continue to read Benavente: we shall read him as a slightly austere duty, almost as a discipline. He has immense intelligence, subtle, mordant, scrupulously poised. But he has no inner warmth. His irony hides no indignation, his reconciling moments—as in the final act of "Autumnal Roses"—no tenderness. The surface life of his plays has brilliancy and color. At their core is that spiritual chill which we seem so often to find in the literature of the unmixed Latins. It is not a chill that has been induced by disillusion or won by wisdom. It was there from the beginning. It never melts because it was never conscious of itself. To mark its presence is not to practice criticism in the common sense, but to acknowledge, at the outset, a difference in racial temper which it would be an affectation to ignore, for all there is so strong a sentiment in certain quarters denying the very existence of such racial differences.

It is but natural, then, that he makes his strongest appeal in English as a satirist. "The Governor's Wife," for instance, is an extraordinarily detailed picture of the corruption, the gossip, the scandal, and the small stupidities that rule the political life of a provincial capital in Spain. The vision behind the play is as complete as it is unsparing. Benavente exhausts his subject; he drains it. One knows perfectly that he has, literally, left nothing unseen or unsaid, and hence one is touched by a sort of dread for and by the people of the play. Their creator unswathes them wrapping by wrapping, and there is left—nothing. To ask about their lonely and naked souls would be, one suspects, to both the creatures and him, like asking a foolish question. In "Autumnal Roses" a final assertion in long speeches of the existence of deep feeling scarcely mitigates the dry, bleak weather of Benavente's world. As Gonzalo's passion has been without pity, so Isabel's resignation is without peace. It never occurs to either of them or to their friends in this play—as it does not to hundreds of other characters in the literature of France and Spain—that a social institution must either yield some spiritual values or be destroyed. They have no hope of the one, no suspicion that the other is possible. They are as far from rebellion as they are from happiness, and their one sad aim is to make the rusty chains cut and chafe a little less.

As a dramatic artist, Benavente stands very high. He admits little intrigue or plotting in the bad theatrical sense. We accept even the very accidental meeting of the two brothers in "The Governor's Wife." The dramatic progression is firm, and it is from within. The people are impelled by the necessities of their nature and not by the supposed exigencies of the stage, so that truth and effectiveness—the test of sound dramaturgy—are inseparable and coincident in practically everything he has written.

It is a curious and an interesting experience to turn from Jacinto Benavente to the third volume of Mr. Clayton Hamilton's handsome edition of Pinero's social dramas. The plays in the present volume, "Letty" and "His House in Order," are not new, but critical judgments in regard to them vary quite as widely as though they were. Read immediately after Benavente, Pinero's characteristic qualities stand out in the strongest relief. He is, contrary to a very general opinion, a shockingly inferior structural artist. His dramaturgic life is

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sustained by trickery. Either a letter is torn within reach of one who is to find the fragments ("Iris"), or old letters suddenly emerge from a hiding place ("His House in Order"), or some one walks casually to the needed spot from the ends of the earth ("The Second Mrs. Tanqueray"), or a will is stolen ("The Thunderbolt"). And all these things happen merely because Pinero has failed to provide for the continuation of the play through the exertion of organic forces. Of such things Benavente would be incapable in his maturer work. What is equally clear is Pinero's intellectual timidity. He proposes a searching problem, creates an intricate psychical or social situation, and runs to the cover of an easy platitude or a hollow convention. "His House in Order" is a case in point. Poor little Nina Jesson discovers that her husband's dear departed, whose terrible family and saintly memory make her life unbearable, was the mistress of Major Maurewarde, and that little Derek Jesson is the latter's son. Her course, as she saw at once, was plain: to spare her husband, who now appears as, after all, sinned against as well as sinning, to spare the innocent child, but to crush and drive forth the self-righteous bounders who have so tormented her. But the fear of the British public was too much for Pinero. The Ridgeleys' sentiments were such very respectable ones. And was a situation admissible which would have made it difficult to drive Maurewarde —with the appropriate moral flourishes—from the house and the society of the child? Somehow, the technical "sin," however deep its spiritual sources or anguished its expiation may have been, must be publicly "branded," and the cold ferocities of the Ridgeleys palliated. So the talkative Hillary persuades Nina to spare them and proceeds to implant an everlasting sting in his brother's heart. In every one of Pinero's serious plays one may mark a similar point at which the timidity of his mind cripples the logic of life. Of that, too, Benavente would be incapable. And it is the greater pity because Pinero's gifts are beyond question. He can create women. Paula Tanqueray, Agnes Ebbsmith, Iris Bellamy, Nina Jesson—to have placed these in dramas that follow the rhythm of life unbroken by stage trickery or the fear of impropriety would have been to add memorably to the dramatic literature of England. As it is, Pinero will have to be kept alive for the most part by the professional dramaturgists, who can be counted on to change their allegiance approximately once a generation.

The first volume of Mr. Stuart Walker's "Portmanteau Plays" contained those whimsical and fantastic pieces the essential triviality of which his own exquisite productions of them have often concealed. The present volume contains a longer play, "The Lady of the Weeping Willow," of the same frail and irritating kind, an amusing trifle, "The Very Naked Boy," and "Jonathan Makes a Wish." The latter is one of the few American plays that is an addition to our serious dramatic literature. How depressingly few there are a moment's reflection will show. "Jonathan Makes a Wish" is a play of an artist's boyhood. The lad scribbles plays and verses. His uncle and guardian wants him to be an engineer, a pillar of society, and an imprisoned soul. The story at moments detaches itself from the concrete and becomes a fable of the wings of the free spirit. But Jonathan has another uncle who, like himself, is of the eternal company of seekers and wanderers, and who saves the lad by a common flight. The play is far from perfect. Its execution in the second act has an over-delicacy that verges on the evanescent. If the admirable Uncle Nathaniel had succeeded as an author to the tune of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year, he would not have been himself. He would have been Harold Bell Wright. He would not have saved an artist from becoming respectable. But these are minor blemishes. The omission of two ciphers will cure the grosser. The play as a whole has inner coherence, a truth that finds us at once, a deep, shy tenderness. Its charm exceeds its power, but its existence makes one desire that Mr. Walker might give all his energy to the writing of serious plays. These are what we need. Production will take care of itself.

Books in Brief

ALTHOUGH in the main true to its name during the Great War, the Pacific Ocean remains a gigantic stage on which stirring international dramas may at any time be enacted. The field has been somewhat cleared by the elimination of Germany as a colonizing power. But German commerce will soon flow again in Pacific channels, and German influences will make themselves felt in a variety of more or less subtle ways. Furthermore, four other principal powers—Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and France—will continue to rub shoulders there, sometimes in coöperation, but sometimes also in opposition. To present, especially to British readers, a large view of the situation in the new era following the war, Mr. C. Brunsdon Fletcher, author of an earlier book entitled "The New Pacific," has written "The Problem of the Pacific" (Holt). Mr. Fletcher is an Australian journalist. He believes that the nature of the problems that stretch out through the next fifty years in the Pacific is only very imperfectly understood in England, even by statesmen—that, indeed, to most Europeans the Pacific is "like the dark side of the moon." His book therefore becomes, first, an exposition of the interplay of world forces within the Pacific area, and, second, a plea for more attention to these forces on the part of persons who have to do with shaping imperial policy. The author is not an alarmist or a propagandist. On the contrary, he presents a very moderate and well-reasoned view of things. He feels that the Pacific world is large enough for the activities of many peoples. He does not urge the increase of British possessions there. He favors a rational and humane solution of the tropical labor question. He is trustful of Japan. The one power whose presence in the Pacific he considers an unmitigated evil is Germany; her activities are held to have been legitimate and praiseworthy until she became obsessed by the lust for world dominion, but he would not trust her far again. Without pretense to infallibility or finality, the book adequately sets forth the present aspects of a problem to which publicists will be compelled to give increasing attention as soon as their eyes can be withdrawn from the scenes of major interest during the war and the making of the peace.

BALZAC in his "Beatrix" tells us that France, and more especially Brittany, still has some few towns that stand entirely outside the social movement of the nineteenth century. "Anyone who should travel as a moral archæologist and study men instead of stones might find a picture of the age of Louis XV in some village of Provence, that of the time of Louis XIV in the depths of Poitou, that of yet remoter ages in the heart of Brittany." A gentle and picturesque account of such feudal life in Quimper, an ancient town of Brittany, in the middle of the last century is found in "A Childhood in Brittany Eighty Years Ago" (Century) by Anne Douglas Sedgwick (Mrs. Basil de Selincourt). Childish memories related to the author by an old French friend have been re-arranged and retold with delicate literary art. Social conditions seem indeed remote that made it possible for servants, even after the French Revolution, to kneel before their masters, addressing them and the Almighty as "thou," in reverence, and to live with the same family in patriarchal fashion for three generations. "Men and maids all wore the costumes of their respective Breton cantons, exceedingly beautiful some of them, stiff with heavy embroideries, the strange caps of the women fluted and ruffled and embroidered with lace, rising high above their heads and falling in long lappets upon their shoulders, or perched on their heads like butterflies." The high cost of living evidently did not disturb a household where at dinner, in addition to soup and salmon, six entrées, four rôties, and various entrements and desserts were served, and between courses little pots of cream, chocolate, and vanilla were "actually passed and actually served." The descriptions have neither the vividness nor the genius of

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Balzac's novels of Brittany, "Les Chouans" and "Beatrix," nor of Pierre Loti's "Pecheur d'Island," but nevertheless they give charming pictures of ancient weather-beaten châteaux and the stately ceremonious lives spent within their walls. Bonne Maman, Ghislaine, Eliane, and Tante Rose doubtless really lived, suffered, and were glad like other mortals, but they move through the pages of this book like pretty automatons or Dresden china figures.

HAS any one every heard of "Arthur Hall of Grantham, Member of Parliament, Courtier, and First Translator of Homer into English"? His "Life and Works" are the subject of an exhaustive study by Mr. H. G. Wright just published by the University of Manchester (Longmans). Personally, Arthur Hall seems to have been a mean, quarrelsome, and cantankerous fellow who cut a poor figure both in Parliament and at court, getting himself imprisoned on several occasions for issuing slanderous pamphlets. His translation of the first ten books of the "Iliad" (1581), made, without any knowledge of Greek, from a tame French version, had not the least repute in his own time, and its only claim to recognition is that its badness may have moved George Chapman to give English readers a genuinely poetic rendering. Those who search literature for unconscious grotesqueness will find much to delight them in Hall's style. On his Olympus "the Gods and Goddesses as Cattes and Dogges agree," celestial Jupiter is called "dad," and stately Juno "spits on hir handes" to take a better hold. The terrestrial figures are treated with equal insight and imagination. The pious Nestor swears by the truth of the Bible, and the venerable Priam, about to leave the conference,

"perceiving well that thus his geare would fodge,
Said to the Greekes and Troyans both, I think it best I trodge."

Mr. Wright is not seriously deceived in the merits of his hero; why, then, does he devote such painstaking research to tracing his insignificant career and to analyzing his worthless productions? If the object was to illustrate the life of an Elizabethan gentleman, surely an example more favorable to the type could have been found.

Drama

The Critic and the Theatre

IF there is one person, we are often tempted to assert, who should not be permitted to criticize the drama, it is the dramatic critic. It is not because he commonly fails of being sensitive, honest, and even learned. It is because his profession puts him in a false position. Consider for a moment the man's task. He must be, on command, in a receptive mood toward the most complex of all the arts. But his receptivity must be controlled from the start by a conscientious inner censorship of his impressions. He sees to report and enjoys to dissect. The wise passiveness which is the condition of fine artistic judgment is not for him. He cannot, like the critic of literature, attack his document again, reflect and reconsider, and correct his morning mood by his midnight one. He must grasp his bright, brief, transitory pageant at once, and he must grasp it, ideally, with the imaginative innocence of a child, the austere detachment of a philosopher, the rich sympathies of a man. For the poorest play, feeble and foolish though it be, is in its very nature plastic vision, philosophy, and life. It is vision, obviously, through its mobile and colorful embodiment on the stage; it is philosophy, since every dramatic action culminates in an ending which betrays the playwright's attitude to the totality of things; it is life by being an example of an art of imitation. No wonder, then, that the dramatic critic, jaded by his round of enforced appreciation on the one hand, or unable, on the other, to keep so many psychical balls in the air, either hides the nobler part of him and deals in trenchant, critical detail, the flash of wit, the exploitation of his personality, or that, like an unskilful juggler, he drops the balls, denies their existence, and flees for permanent refuge to a theory that artificially simplifies the art he contemplates and reduces his function to something more agreeable with mortal powers. Thus we have brilliant comment on this or that aspect of the theatre, but comment that is, in any larger sense, quite sterile. Or else we have learned and charming and urbane exercitations upon all externals of theatrical and dramatic history and practice, which leave the core of the matter quite untouched. We have "Hamlet" with the critic substituting himself for the protagonist; we have "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.

There is Mr. George Jean Nathan.[1] That he sometimes makes the judicious wince and often makes the fastidious shudder is a small matter. For he has some of the qualifications of a dramatic critic in a higher degree than any other American contemporary. He has an unrivalled knowledge of the modern stage, a thorough impatience with sham and cant, and flashes—as in his brief note on the artificial play—of the most searching insight. But because sentimentality and sweetishness and foolish uplift have so often among us masqueraded as serious art, he has huddled everything that seeks to touch the soul, the genuine as well as the false, into one basket and flung that basket out of his back window. What he wants is intelligent entertainment, plays that will please a comfortable and discriminating man of the world. He will not get what he wants, and much of his fine energy will have been spent quite in vain. No man can write a serious play, and show men and women acting and suffering, except upon spiritual and moral terms, except with attitudes, opinions, and principles that reveal his inmost soul even more than theirs and bind the playwright and his play to stern and fundamental things. The drama is, quite literally, what Aristotle called all poetry—more philosophical than history. Do "Œdipus Rex" and "Hamlet" afford intelligent entertainment, or—to come to Mr. Nathan's special field—"An Enemy of the People" or "The Weavers" or "The Lower Depths"? The intelligently entertaining play, which commonly assumes the form of polite comedy, is the product of small, compact, untroubled communities. Such the vast seethings of the world's life tolerate less and less. Mr. Nathan, in a word, has no patience with tinsel and paper flowers. He finds them out with an unerring gaze and with a cold exuberant enjoyment reduces them to pulp. But the theatre cannot be helped by the mere exposure of isolated instances of hollowness and fraud, even though that exposure be full of energy and wit and good sense. As the playwright inevitably reveals his special perception of ultimate values in his plays, so the dramatic critic, speaking of those plays, betrays the road of the mind upon which he travels. And Mr. Nathan's pilgrimage, unless we mistake him grossly, is—towards orchids. He wants to sit quietly in his aloof and faun-like elegance and glance at the exquisite form and glow of the petals and forget annoying things, and, through a succession of such experiences, build a house of art in which he can be secure from the tyranny of the Puritan and the contamination of the mob. But never was the theatre less likely than today to become a gentleman's Paradise. We must either acquiesce in its present sentimentality and gaudiness—and that a man of Mr. Nathan's sophistication cannot do—or else we must cast in our lot with the world process and seek to bring the gravest and most stirring of the arts nearer, in its true character, to an ever increasing number of men—*and that Mr. Nathan will not do. Thus it comes about* that, with all its vehemence and strength and veracity in detail, Mr. Nathan's critical structure is built of fragile materials in a precarious and a lonely place.

Professor Brander Matthews,[2] through his teaching and writing, through his unfailing vivacity and accomplished scholarship, has probably done more to touch the minds of intelligent people with a vivid interest in the theatre than any other living American. If he has not helped the American theatre itself as powerfully as, given his station and influence, he might have

[1] *Comedians All.* By George Jean Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf.
[2] *Principles of Playmaking.* By Brander Matthews. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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done, it is because he has too often acquiesced in its condition upon a somewhat rigid application of certain historical analogies. These analogies he reiterates in "The Principles of Playmaking." Since Shakespeare and Molière were, first of all, successful playwrights, who made an immediate appeal to the audiences of their day, Professor Matthews makes such an appeal the criterion of the dramatist of all ages. But Shakespeare and Molière wrote for very small and homogeneous audiences. To which of the innumerable audiences of a contemporary metropolis, it must be asked, shall the young dramatist address himself? Whose applause shall decide whether he makes an analagous appeal in his own time and place—that of the audiences of some bed-room farce, or of the Theatre Guild? And how long a run shall, for a given play, constitute its test of that broad popularity which we rightly grant Shakespeare and Molière on the score of a few performances? Nor is it always true today that the "audience is a crowd composed of all sorts and conditions of men." A New York audience, for instance, is composed of people who can achieve a certain standard of dress, who can risk—with galleries abolished and balconies restricted—two dollars on an evening's entertainment or boredom, who belong neither to the great religious communions that disapprove of the theatre, nor to that very cultivated minority which, in its present state, disdains it. Hence our playwright, far from being obliged "to deal with subjects appealing to collective human nature," must, for immediate success, cater to the tastes and prejudices of a narrow, inflexible, commonly over-fed bourgeoisie, desperately frightened by ideas and unfamiliar modes of feeling. Thus the phrase of Molière, "to please the public," has little left in common with its original meaning, and every first-rate modern dramatist has had to help destroy the contemporary theatre as he found it in order to be heard at all. So soon as we grasp the true nature of these conditions, the entire theory which differentiates the secondary literary qualities of a play from its primary theatrical ones collapses. To the right audience, once it be found and gathered, a notable drama's excellence in invention, structure, and style will constitute its theatrical effectiveness; its "veracity of character" will afford all needed "histrionic opportunities"—who would desire opportunities that do not grow out of such veracity?—and its truth to the human environment with which it deals will be picturesque enough. No, it is not acquiescence from which the most fruitful criticism can arise. Our theatre is not, so far as it is most prosperous, the theatre of the great dramatists fallen upon evil days. It is the theatre of a class and an economic condition from which we must free it for the service of nobler and more human things. L. L.

Music

Orchestras

THE symphony orchestra has always played such an important part in the development of our musical taste that one cannot judge the value of a conductor solely by his skill with the baton. Upon the breadth of his sympathies, the accuracy of his discernment, and the truth of his delivery, much of our chance for growth in music depends. The history of the New York Philharmonic alone is sufficient proof of this. Beginning its pioneer work seventy-eight years ago as the first symphonic organization in this country, it was fortunate in having as leaders men of force and vision, like Earl Bergmann and Theodore Thomas, who gave us not only what was best in the classics, but what was best in the contemporary literature of every country that was producing symphonic music. The New York Symphony, founded later by Dr. Leopold Damrosch, adopted the same policy; and this happy compromise between the old and the new gave us a high standard and at the same time a catholicity of taste that amazed Europe and literally put us "on the musical map" of the world.

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We need this spirit more than ever today, when we are beginning to develop a national consciousness in music as in other mediums of expression. And so the attitude of our great symphonic conductors toward the modern composer—especially toward the American composer—and their ability to understand what these same composers are trying to tell us, is a thing that should concern us very particularly: because, for the sake of our artistic future, we cannot afford to be under the guidance of men who dwell only in the past, and if they do hear the present are only repelled by it.

New York, perhaps, is the best witness to such guidance as we get, for New York supports more orchestral concerts than any other city in the United States. Within the past few weeks it has had the opportunity to hear the four greatest orchestras in the country, the Boston, Philadelphia, and New York Symphonies and the New York Philharmonic, besides New York's New Symphony Orchestra, whose leader, Arthur Bodanzky, wields a power that cannot be overlooked. Judged each by quality and responsiveness as a living, breathing instrument, the Philadelphia and Boston organizations would undoubtedly come first in the order named, just as would Mr. Stokowski and Mr. Bodanzky, were they to be ranked according to their virtuosity in conducting. But it is interesting to note that Mr. Stransky of the Philharmonic and Mr. Damrosch of the New York Symphony have so upheld the traditions of their predecessors that their organizations are still preëminent as educational factors. Mr. Stransky, by his liberality towards the American composer, is doing more to foster a national symphonic expression than any other conductor in the country. Mr. Damrosch, by his unprejudiced and well arranged programs, and his delightful as well as instructive Young People's Symphony Concerts, is not only beginning at the right end, but is genializing music in a way that does much to win recruits from every quarter.

As for the other three conductors, the results of their leadership cannot as yet be so clearly defined, especially as Mr. Bodanzky and Mr. Monteux are new in the field; but much can be surmised. Mr. Stokowski in the five years of his leadership of the Philadelphia Orchestra has raised it from a secondary position to one of supremacy among the great orchestras of the world. His interpretative genius has been more often evidenced in works that require color and nuance, like those of Debussy, than in those, like Beethoven's, whose qualities demand a broad and incisive reading. This intuitive understanding of the modern idiom does much to counterbalance the conservatism of his programs. On the other hand, Mr. Monteux, although a compatriot as well as a contemporary of Debussy's, has apparently never become acclimatized to this "atmosphere," which is, after all, purely a product of the senses. Nevertheless, he has amply proven his mission by his lucid exposition of the other French schools. To say that there is no such thing as "map music" is untrue. Each nation has certain characteristics that are best understood by its own people. And Mr. Monteux, with his clear, logical French mind, is expounding French music to us in a way that none of his great German predecessors were ever able to do. Moreover, he has brought to his work a certain Gallic grace that, while it has mellowed the tone and softened the brilliancy of his wonderful Boston orchestra, has not clouded that golden transparency that has always been its chief glory.

From Mr. Bodanzky we can only expect good music given as well as he can possibly give it, to use his own summary of his ambition. But by "good music" Mr. Bodanzky means that which ceased with Strauss and Debussy, with the possible exception since of Ernest Bloch, whom Mr. Bodanzky admires tremendously. Even Mahler, whose disciple he was, he confesses not to understand. At heart he seems a reactionary. Apparently he believes that what the world most needs is the classics; that we can do without Wagner for the rest of our lives, but not without Mozart, as he himself says. Yet, curiously enough, while he has worked wonders with his rough material in revealing the beauties of these same classics, he has also shown an equal understanding of such modern works as he deigns to put on his programs. This gives one hope that his viewpoint will change, and that what he is now expressing is merely the natural revolt of the operatic director who has had to conduct much bad music against his will. H. S.

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The New East

I. The Student Movement in China

TO my occidental mind it seemed absurd that the students of the leading university in central China should come to us of the faculty and soberly tell us that, no matter how much they regretted it, they felt it to be their patriotic duty to stop attending classes. What was even more absurd was the fact that the students of the preparatory school felt it to be their patriotic duty to follow in the steps of their elder brothers in the college, and that the students of every high school and grammar school in the city had their representatives on the campus waiting eagerly for the first news that the university men had decided to strike, so that they might go back and call out their classmates.

It was not only funny, it was futile. At least so I thought at the time; for the strike was not a protest against the teachers or the management of the institution—indeed the students sought the counsel of their professors in making their decisions—it was a protest against the foreign policy of the Chinese Government and the awards of the Paris Conference. Imagine the students at—let us say—Yale, or the Brooklyn High Schools, refusing to attend classes because they disapproved of the President's Mexican policy, or the attitude of Senator Lodge on the League of Nations!

It was in the evening of the first day of the student agitation that I passed the administration building and found two lusty youths, both members of the varsity football team, sitting on the steps, weeping bitterly.

"What's the matter?" I asked in alarm.

"We are weeping," they replied, "at the disgrace of our country."

It is hard for westerners to appreciate the dramatic value of such a spectacle. We are tempted to laugh when we hear of the patriotic student in Tientsin who tried to kill himself by butting his head against a stone pillar in the Chamber of Commerce. But to the Chinese he was visible rhetoric. There, into the sanctuary of trade, where the sleek and satisfied merchants refuse to risk their profits in a boycott of Japanese goods, comes the student patriot willing to give something more precious than profits, if by so doing he can shame the selfish into sacrifice. It is something the people do not easily forget. So also the student of Wuchang, who drowned himself last June in the Yang-tse River as a protest against the lethargy of his compatriots in the face of a possible partition of China, is celebrated as a national martyr.

The student strike started in Peking. There, three days after the Paris Conference announced its decision to allow Japan to remain in Shantung, three thousand students marched to the home of Tsao Ju Lin, Minister of Communications, a prominent pro-Japanese who has negotiated the many loans from Japan during the last few years. Mr. Tsao departed discreetly through his back door when the students entered the front, but his guest, Mr. Chang Chung Hsiang, Chinese Minister to Japan, no less pro-Japanese than Mr. Tsao, was less fortunate. He was seized by the students, given a thorough trouncing, and left to recover in the hospital. The house of Mr. Tsao was then burned, though the students disclaim responsibility for the burning. Thirty-three students were arrested but were released in a few days and acclaimed as heroes by the rest of the student body.

The beating of Minister Chang was, fortunately, the only act of violence committed by the students. Immediately thereafter they determined upon an active, but peaceful, propaganda. Student delegates were sent out to other schools and colleges throughout the country; pamphlets and posters urging the boycott of Japanese goods, and cartoons depicting Japanese designs upon China were printed and distributed by the thousands; chambers of commerce and guilds of merchants were visited and asked to coöperate; speeches were made on the street corners exhorting consumers not to buy and shop keepers not to sell Japanese products; processions marched through the streets carrying huge banners with such devices as, "Put backbone into Chinese diplomacy," "Buy nothing made in Japan," "Remember Korea." Bonfires of Japanese straw hats lighted the curb stones and Japanese wash basins were hung derisively on lamp posts; and the dismissal of the three most pronounced pro-Japanese members of the Government was demanded. These three, "the three traitors," as the students called them, were Mr. Tsao, Minister of Communications, whose house had been burned, Mr. Chang, Minister to Japan, who had suffered violence at the hands of the students, and Mr. Lu, Director General of the Currency Reform Bureau.

The attempts of the Government to repress these outbursts of student enthusiasm led only to more determined effort and more efficient organization on the part of the students. A student union was formed in Peking whose executive bureau consisted of elected representatives from all the educational institutions in the city. This form of organization was copied in almost every other Chinese city, and both the friends and the opponents of the movement were surprised by the effectiveness and dispatch with which the business of the students was conducted. About the middle of May a general student strike was called in Peking, and within two weeks the students in nearly every other city of China had followed suit.

At the end of May the President of China issued a mandate defending the actions and policies of "the three traitors" and intimated that any further student demonstration would be regarded by the Government as a breach of the peace and dealt with accordingly. The students in Peking answered by redoubled activity. Groups of picked speakers were sent into every quarter of the city and as soon as one group was arrested another took its place. The police had a lively and exhausting day. They arrested over a thousand students. There was not sufficient jail accommodation, so they were shut up in the law school of the university and guns trained on all the exits.

This wholesale arrest of peaceful students, whose protest had been in essence a protest for freedom of speech, caused a storm of popular indignation. Students in far-off cities

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who had not yet struck, decided to do so; tradesmen and customers pushed the boycott more vigorously than ever; dock hands and railroad men threatened a general strike; shop keepers in all the larger towns closed their doors. And for the first time in the history of China, public opinion really influenced the men in control of the Government. On June 8 the thousand students were released, and on June 11 "the three traitors" were dismissed from office.

It is not easy for an American to understand the influence which students exercise in China, but when we recall the fact that from the days of Confucius to the present, the scholar has been looked upon at once as the most useful and the most eminent of men, we can perhaps appreciate something of the respect in which even the student of high-school grade is held by the common people. Until recent years it has been scholarly attainment alone which has opened the doors to political preferment. Likewise, the general illiteracy among peasants and coolies gives the student in China an advantage which in more literate lands he cannot secure, while the student orator is, for those who cannot read the newspaper, an audible editorial.

The opposition of the Chinese Government to the student movement may need some explanation. Why, it is asked, should the leaders of China desire to repress a movement which sought by peaceful means to free China from the commercial exploitation, if not the actual political dominance of an alien race? The answer lies in the corruption and autocracy of the governing groups. The revolutionary movement which overthrew the Manchu Empire seven years ago, and which was begun by a patriotic and enlightened minority, was captured almost at the outset by the military leaders and grafting politicians of the old régime, and exploited for their own benefit. They have maintained their position to the present day by their control of the army, and they have maintained their control of the army by the use of moneys loaned them by foreign Governments. Recently Japan has been the most willing to lend them money, hence they are frankly pro-Japanese. China is a republic without a Constitution. Several drafts have been proposed, but whenever they have come even remotely near acceptance by Parliament, Parliament has been dissolved by the militarists. Suffrage, which is at present determined by presidential mandate, is so restricted as to exclude all but a few from the privilege of voting, and elections are so thoroughly controlled by the military that even these few seldom venture to avail themselves of the privilege. Until the recent student movement the Government has never had an aroused and intelligent public opinion to fear, for the simple reason that the illiteracy of the vast majority of the people has made it impossible for them to get information on which to base an opinion. Hence the military clique at Peking, known politically in China as "the Anfu Club," with its henchmen, the military governors of the provinces, has been able to plunder the people unmolested and unafraid.

The rulers of China have but two objectives: the maintenance of their position and the filling of their pockets. As for the first, they will stop at no measures to prevent, crush, or side-track any movement for constitutional control of the Government; for the second, domestic revenues and foreign loans are both grist to their mill. To them it is a matter of complete indifference to whom they sell their country or any part of it, as long as they are able to lay their hands on a substantial portion of the price. They are ready to knock down any province to the highest bidder. Just now Japan is the highest bidder, and Shantung the coveted province; but Japan is not the only sinner. Ever since the founding of the Republic the nations of the West have consistently upheld the hands and filled the pockets of the Peking clique. It is much easier to get commercial concessions and trading privileges from men who are known to have their price, and whose price is not exorbitant, than to deal with patriots who believe that China has some higher destiny than to be forever a profitable field for western exploitation.

It is a hazardous thing to prophesy concerning political conditions in China, but one ventures the guess that if Japanese and Western support were withdrawn from the Peking clique it would collapse like a bubble. At present the treasury of China is practically bankrupt. Without foreign loans the Peking politicians can neither pay the army nor buy political support. As Tsao Ju Lin aptly said, in his defense of the Japanese loans, "You cannot make pudding without rice!" Moreover, there now is, thanks to the student agitation, for the first time in Chinese history something which approaches a common, national, public opinion on political affairs, and that opinion is anything but favorable to the militarists. Whether any other party has the strength and leadership to take their place still remains to be seen. The constitutionalists of the south of China for the last two years have successfully maintained their refusal to acknowledge the Peking Government, and have gained much sympathy from forward-looking men in all parts of China. It may be that the promise of democracy in China lies in a constitutional government under southern leadership. There is also a hope of democratic leadership in the various associations of educators, merchants, and professional men all over China, north and south, which the student movement has called forth.

Certain it is that as long as the Peking clique remains in power, democracy has little to hope for in China. It was this clique which made the secret treaty with Japan in September of last year, giving Japan permission to do practically as it pleased in Shantung. For this the clique received twenty million yen (ten million dollars). The significant thing about this agreement is the fact that it was signed after China had declared war on Germany, and after Germany, therefore, had forfeited all rights in Shantung, which meant that, in international law, Japan no longer had any standing in Shantung, since there were no longer any German rights which she could inherit. With Japan in this situation China's rulers deliberately handed the province over to Japan and pocketed the price. They publicly denied it at the time and suppressed the Peking newspapers which ventured to publish an account of the deal; and they had the effrontery to send their delegates to the Paris Conference in total ignorance of the pact, and to keep them in ignorance of it until the end of January of this year!

Is it any wonder that even staunch friends of China sometimes feel that even if the Paris Conference had ejected Japan from Shantung, it would thereby have turned it over to a group of political scoundrels who would be likely to sell it again at the first opportunity and use the proceeds to continue their career of spoliation? The dismissal of the three pro-Japanese members of the Government was indeed a triumph for the students and the public sentiment which they aroused, but this dismissal by no means turned the militarists out of power. Until Japan ceases to support

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them, and until the western nations cease to support Japan in supporting them, there seems to be little hope of their overthrow.

But the dismissal of the three "traitors" was not the only, or the most important result of the student movement. In the first place, the students have succeeded in giving Japan a warning that there is something to reckon with in China besides the pockets of politicians. This warning has come in the shape of the boycott on Japanese goods, which has closed innumerable Japanese shops in Chinese ports, and which, according to the estimate of Mr. H. K. Tong of Shanghai, has killed 80 per cent. of the Japanese export business in China; and, what is of still greater significance, has given an impetus to an unprecedented development of Chinese production. In the cotton industry alone 400,000 spindles have been ordered in the last six months, and one American firm of importers has had orders for twenty new and complete cotton mills to be set up in China within the next two years. This development is not in the hands of western companies in China, but is almost exclusively in the hands of the Chinese themselves.

An even more important result of the student movement than the warning to Japan or the encouragement of home production is, as I have already pointed out, the arousing of a genuine, fairly well informed public opinion throughout the whole of China. While the order, the restraint, the unselfishness, the efficiency, and the effectiveness with which the students organized and directed a national movement which came to include all classes of people and all parts of the country augurs well for the hope of those who believe that China is today developing a leadership which will enable it, at no distant period, to stand upon its own feet.

II. The Real Japanese

"DO you think it safe?" asked my American friends in Shanghai, when I announced my intention of spending six weeks in Japan. The anti-Japanese feeling in China was then at its height, and the anti-Japanese discussion in America was raging. I replied that I hoped I might escape sudden death in the island kingdom if I tried to go about my business there with something less than the usual arrogance of the white man in the East.

My friends replied with a recital of harrowing stories calculated to shake my resolution, stories of American travellers insulted on the streets of Yokohama, of discourtesies and delays caused by petty Japanese officials, of prices charged Americans which were veritable holdups. In spite of these tragic tales I went to Japan; and although I have travelled extensively on three continents I have never met a people so genuinely and universally courteous, kindly, and helpful to a stranger as the Japanese.

It was night when I arrived in Tokio, an irregular, sprawling city, in which it is difficult to find one's way, even in the day time. The address to which I was bound lay quite across the city, and to reach it involved a change of street cars. I found an English-speaking Japanese at the information bureau in the railway station and told him where I wanted to go. He wrote out the address in Japanese. "Show this to the conductor," he said, and then took me out of the station and put me on the right car. At the transfer point the conductor, who spoke no English, but who had seen the written address, signalled to his motorman to hold the car, got off with me, crossed the street, put me on the other car, and explained to the conductor of that car where to let me off.

This friendly conductor was but one of a score or more of his countrymen who are vivid in my memory for those acts of kindness which lighten the journeys of a stranger in a strange land. I knocked about the country with not more than a dozen Japanese phrases in my vocabulary; I stayed at first-class city hotels and at third-class village inns; I visited far-off monasteries and lived with the monks; I rode on street cars and rickshas and one-horse country buses; I took long tramps into the country and climbed the craters of volcanoes; and nowhere did I experience the slightest unpleasantness. On the contrary I was continually meeting people who went out of their way to help me. At stations or in shops, when I tried to make my wishes known in the few Japanese sentences I used so bunglingly, there invariably stepped forward some one who knew English, a student or a teacher or a young business man, to translate for me; and no trouble seemed too great for chance acquaintances on railway journeys or mountain climbs if only they might direct me to my goal or assist in supplying my wants.

That the Japanese are considerate of strangers was not the only thing I learned in my travels. I found that so far as my experience went the Japanese reputation for dishonesty was not merited. I frequently stayed at native inns, where bedroom doors are softly sliding panels which cannot be locked. I did not lose a single possession during the whole summer. My travelling bag was a native willow basket held together by straps and impossible to lock in any way. I repeatedly left it at hotels and at railway stations, and not a thing was taken from it. That prices in Japan were high, especially in comparison with prices in China, is true; it is also true that the cost of living in Japan is rising just now pretty nearly as rapidly as it has recently risen in America. I took pains to inquire of old American residents in Japan and of disinterested Japanese concerning fair prices, and I invariably found that what I was charged was exactly what every other customer was charged.

The most striking and humiliating testimony as to business methods in the East came to me from a young American architect who has been in Japan for the last few years superintending the erection of one of the largest plants in Tokio. He told me that he was dumbfounded at the business morals of supposedly reputable American and British firms in Japan. He had discovered, he said, that in the purchase of materials used in construction he could not trust them or the goods they supplied. He found it better to deal with Japanese firms.

Not only did I find the Japanese with whom I dealt honest, not only did I find the common people kindly and helpful and without a trace of racial or national prejudice, but even the officials with whom I had to do were pleasant and affable. The immigration officials at Nagasaki, of whom Americans are wont to complain, were courtesy itself in comparison with the American immigration officials whom I have heard questioning and bullying aliens at ports on the Pacific coast. The Japanese officials asked me the usual questions about my destination and the business I was on; and it is this which Americans regard as an unwarrantable inquisition into their private affairs. They have never read the list of questions presented to aliens, even alien travellers of English speech and heritage, who seek entrance to the United States. What is more, Americans refuse to think of themselves as aliens in the Orient.

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Whatever unpleasantness American travellers experience in Japan is largely due to their own arrogant, race-conscious bearing. Indeed most westerners in the East go about with a get-off-the-walk attitude which they would not dream of assuming at home. The white man in China is used to being regarded as a particular favorite of the gods. He can break rules and regulations with impunity; he is subject, not to Chinese courts, but to the jurisdiction of his own land; his gunboats lie along the Bund; his money buys for him the docile servility which a feudal baron once commanded. He kicks the coolies, tyrannizes over the servants, and shoves the natives into the gutter. And if he does not actually indulge in these crasser manifestations of superiority, he goes about with the sublime consciousness that, as a white man, he is entitled to do so whenever he chooses.

I do not for a moment wish to give the impression that all or even most of the Americans in China are of this arrogant, race-conscious type, but unfortunately many of them are. And it is just this type of American from whom I have invariably heard wholesale and unthinking denunciation of the Japanese. For when the American, with his inbred ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority, strengthened perhaps by a visit to or a residence in China, goes to Japan, he receives a shock. He finds that he is expected to behave there as he does at home, and he resents it.

None of this, however, is intended in any way to justify the policy of imperialistic expansion on which Japan's rulers appear to be intent. No informed person can have anything but condemnation for Japan's Korean administration. It is both a crime and a blunder. It has inflamed Korea, alienated China, and brought Japan into ill repute among the nations. But the Japanese people as a whole by no means approve of their Government's Korean policy. The plain fact is that the mass of the people have not, until quite recently, known what the Government has been up to either in Korea or in Shantung. This has been due partly to the control which the Government exercises over the press, and partly to the natural indifference of the ordinary citizen to matters which are remote from his daily task. But the recent disturbances in Korea, and the atrocious and bungling way in which the Japanese militarists met the situation have gradually leaked through the censorship, and right-thinking Japanese, both in and out of Parliament, have so vigorously voiced their protests that the Government has been forced to inaugurate a reform in Korean administration, taking the rule of that country out of the hands of the military and putting it on a civil basis. Just how sincerely this reform will be carried out remains to be seen. That its inception has been forced by liberal opinion in Japan is significant.

Few will deny that the original acquisition of Korea by Japan was an act of outrageous land grabbing, but it can be paralleled in the recent ventures of almost every western nation; and the same is true of the occupation of Shantung. Two years ago the French calmly occupied a section of over three hundred acres in the heart of the city of Tientsin. When the Chinese protested and began a boycott of French goods the French threatened to claim an indemnity for commerical losses arising from the boycott. England is today strengthening its hold on Tibet. A recent American writer on Chinese affairs has estimated the amount of the many foreign holdings and concessions in China, and states that no less than 27 per cent. of the entire area of China is in the hands of Great Britain. When you speak of Shantung to a Japanese conversant with world politics, he mentions these things. He points also to the West, where France and Italy are, on any pretext, deftly getting their hands on all the German and Austrian territory they can annex. England has recently absorbed Egypt, and put down with a strong hand the native movement for independence. Even the Korean atrocities do not seem so extreme when placed side by side with the accounts we are getting of the treatment of Irish and Indian revolutionists. It is true that the United States is getting no territory out of the war, but there was no territory involved which it could possibly want or use. But suppose, says the Japanese, that prior to the war Germany had secured a port in Mexico, not far from American waters, and had been given valuable railway and mining rights in the provinces adjacent to the border. Suppose further that during the war the United States had driven the Germans out of Mexico, occupied their port, and administered their commercial ventures in the interior. What would the United States have done about it at the Peace Conference? The question is embarrassing, especially in the light of the present agitation for intervention in Mexico. Intervention in China is urged by the patriotic Japanese on exactly the same grounds that patriotic Americans urge intervention in Mexico: the country is torn by civil strife; it is, they believe, manifestly incapable of taking care of itself; we should go in, they say, and clean up things for the good of the natives; being a strong nation and a neighbor it is our manifest destiny to be the savior of China. Such is the argument regarding China or Mexico, as the case may be.

Having come from China, where I had learned to admire and sympathize with the nationalistic ideals of its young men, I could not agree with those Japanese who felt that the Japanese possession of Kiaochow and the consequent penetration of Shantung would be for the good of China; yet I could not, without feeling myself a self-righteous hypocrite, entirely condemn the Japanese Shantung policy, in the light of the schemes for territorial expansion and commercial exploitation harbored by the Allies of the West. American writers seem to take especial pleasure at present in contrasting the public utterances of Japanese statesmen with their secret agreements; but in so doing they seem to forget that one of the chief counts against the secret diplomacy of the West has been just this discrepancy between public declarations and secret covenants. That Japan should have followed the example of the West in this respect is indeed deplorable, but we can hardly hold it up as a horrible example without becoming Pharisees ourselves.

By far the most significant and encouraging sign which I found in Japan was the presence there of a number of resident Americans, mostly educators and missionaries, though some business men also belong to their company, who have freed themselves from the usual western arrogance, who have learned the Japanese language, and have come to understand Japanese nature, and who are genuinely hopeful of the triumph of liberal and democratic forces in Japan. These men and women and the forward-looking young Japanese trained by them represent an achievement in the cause of international fellowship and a peaceful Orient of which America may well be proud. It should not need a journey to the East to convince us that their way of helping Japan toward democracy and brotherhood is better, and in the end more sure, than that of denunciation and arrogance.

JAMES ARTHUR MULLER

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Foreign Press

Siberia in the Japanese Press

THE following comment from the Japanese press on Japan's policy in Siberia, from an article in the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenyie* (Vladivostok) of October 4, is interesting in view of the reports of negotiations between the United States and Japan concerning the situation in Siberia.

On the question of Japan's Siberian policy the Japanese press and public are divided, particularly on that phase which relates to the maintenance of Japanese expeditionary forces in Siberia and the demands for reinforcements. There is no unanimity of opinion in Japan. One section of the press urges the necessity of a definite and positive political policy toward Siberia, while another is in favor of a negative political attitude. Yet even the defenders of the positive point of view are not unanimous about the extent of Japanese intervention in Siberian affairs. The extreme militaristic elements advocate military operations throughout the whole extent of Siberia, and even speak in favor of a Japanese army on the fronts of European Russia, while the more moderate elements content themselves with urging the necessity of creating a barrier at Lake Baikal in the interest of defense and of law and order in the Far East. The supporters of the negative political point of view are entirely opposed to any scheme of intervention in Siberia, and are consequently in favor of recalling all Japanese troops from that country.

The arguments advanced in support of these varying shades of political opinion in Japan may be learned from the articles and editorials appearing in the most important papers. Thus Dr. Tomidziu, a member of Parliament representing the Seiyukai party, writes a leading article in *Kokumin*, in which he declares that "under the present circumstances Japan is offered the alternative either of recalling all of her troops from Siberia or of strengthening them considerably." However, this paper ventures to say that "from whatever angle we approach this question, Siberia must not be left to its own fate. Therefore the only policy remaining to us is to increase considerably our expeditionary forces in Siberia." This policy, according to *Kokumin*, is dictated by the activities of the Bolsheviki, "who do not in any sense respect private property; who give the fullest freedom of action to the laboring population, which is placed in a privileged position." Besides, the paper contends, the Bolsheviki aim to spread their ideas among other nations, which renders them the deadly enemies of all civilization and all humanity.

Kokumin proceeds: "Japan should lay before all the nations a plan for the elimination of the Bolsheviki, but at the same time resolve firmly that in case the other Powers decline to accept our plan, Japan will independently undertake to carry it out. With the bravery of our gallant troops it would not be so very difficult for us to clear Siberia of the Bolsheviki, and once Japan is successful in uniting all of Siberia, we shall then have before us the opportunity of exploiting the gold deposits which are so abundant in that country, and of developing the timber resources and the industries, in coöperation with the Russian population. It is, however, important to bear in mind that Japanese policies in Siberia should be dictated by consideration of our own interests, and that we should give no special consideration either to Semenov or to any other leader. We need only utilize their individual services if they contribute to the promotion of our own interests. If not, then it would be necessary to find another leader through whom we might win the good will of the Siberian population, which is our first concern."

Still *Kokumin* denies that it is advocating an aggressive policy toward Siberia. "The sole end toward which we are striving is the suppression of the Bolsheviki in the name and in support of anti-Bolshevism. If Japan would only follow this policy, then the anti-Bolshevist elements in European Russia would grow stronger in following, and bring down the Government of Lenin and Trotzky. If the anti-Bolshevist elements succeed to power and leadership in European Russia, then it is to the interest of Japan to establish friendly relations with them, to help them in the rehabilitation of new Russia, and, moreover, to enter again into intimate relations with Germany with the purpose of clearing a way for a triple alliance between Japan, Russia, and Germany." The need for such an understanding, according to *Kokumin*, is dictated by the circumstance that "from the moment of the destruction of Germany, America has begun to behave itself in an insolent manner, and it will no doubt come to its senses when Japan, Russia, and Germany enter into a mutual friendly agreement."

Jiji is more sober in its outlook and demands, since it has fixed its attention on certain aspects of the problem which have escaped such a militaristic newspaper as *Kokumin*. *Jiji* is not interested in the whole of Siberia or in the fortunes of European Russia. This paper regards the problem of Japan as consisting only in the defense of order and peace in the three provinces of the Russian Far East, but at the same time it holds that the present number of Japanese troops in Siberia is entirely inadequate. "In our opinion," says *Jiji*, "Japan has no course left but to send more troops into Siberia to clear the three provinces of Eastern Siberia from all Bolshevist elements, or to recall all her troops and leave that country in the hands of fate." *Jiji* sees the undesirable sides of both plans: "Strengthening our troops in Siberia would of necessity create a simultaneous demand for greater military expenditures for the next two, three, or more years. One ought not to forget that before this plan is put in execution it is essential to arrive at a full understanding with the principal Allies, for otherwise Japan will arouse the suspicion that she is pursuing an aggressive policy." At the same time this paper sees the danger of recalling Japanese troops from Siberia. "With the withdrawal of the Japanese forces the Bolsheviki will undoubtedly strengthen their position and power everywhere in Siberia, and then undertake an active propaganda in Korea, Manchuria, and China. It may be feared that they will carry their propaganda into Japan itself, which is only separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water. In order to forestall this danger it is imperative to create police organs of supervision and control, not only in Japan, but on the Russian border in Korea and at certain points in Manchuria and Mongolia; in other words, to undertake such measures as would be tantamount to a temporary closing of the frontiers." *Jiji* maintains that either of these policies would be better than the vacillating, indefinite policy which the Government is at present pursuing.

Yomiuri, which is one of the more serious and constructive organs of the Japanese press, approaches the problem from a wider angle, arriving at conclusions diametrically opposed to those of *Kokumin*. This paper feels that the situation in Siberia depends entirely on the course of events in European Russia. It says: "Certain circles in our nation seem to believe that Siberia, separated from European Russia by the Ural mountains, can follow a wholly independent course of political development. Such an ill-considered conclusion is, in our view, the origin of all the fundamental and irreparable errors in the Japanese policy toward Siberia." *Yomiuri* proves from recent events that the fortunes of Siberia and European Russia are closely related. It shows that all separatist tendencies in Russia have no foundation, as in the case of the Ukraine, which, having announced its full independence, has now come to regard itself as part of a future federated Russia. "If such is the tendency in European Russia, then naturally the same forces will define the future course of Siberia's political development." *Yomiuri* holds that the Allies have already realized the coming inevitable union of all Russia, and in accordance with this they have already begun to change their policies toward Russia in favor of non-intervention. "Japan, too, has now come to a turning point in her Russian, or more correctly, her Siberian policy, and should take into consideration all these conditions."

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The Results of the French Election

THE following analysis by Mr. Robert Dell of the results of the recent French general election appeared in the *Daily Herald* (London) of November 21.

Most of the British press has described the result of the French general election as a victory for "moderate republicanism." The republicanism of the motley crew of Nationalists, Clericals, and other reactionaries, who have enlisted under the banner of M. Clemenceau, is, indeed, moderate, both in quantity and quality, but this is not a victory for moderation. It is the victory of extreme reaction. The election has placed the destinies of France in the hands of chauvinists and militarists of the type which made France a menace to Europe during a great part of the nineteenth century. It means social and political reaction at home and an aggressive policy abroad. . . .

Inevitably, the result of the election will strengthen the revolutionary and anti-parliamentarist elements in the French proletariat. I should not be surprised at a demand from a large section of the Socialist party for the entire withdrawal of the Socialist deputies from the Chamber as a protest against an electoral system which is a caricature of representation. M. Millerand is mentioned as the probable successor of M. Clemenceau in the Premiership. Formerly a Socialist, he has been for years the hope of the reaction. He is a hard-working man of despotic temperament, lacking vision and any real qualities of statesmanship, and destitute of tact; just the man, in fact, to precipitate the inevitable crisis.

The complete results of the election are not yet known, but 586 deputies have been elected out of a total of 626, and the remaining forty results cannot affect the situation. The respective political labels are as follows:

		Gains	Losses
Republicans of the Left	123	36	—
Radicals	57	—	7
Socialist-Radicals	78	—	85
Socialist-Republicans	26	—	7
Socialists	65	—	37
Dissident Socialists	6	—	—
Progressists	126	76	—
"Liberal Action" (Catholics)	73	42	—
Conservatives	32	—	—

Most of these labels mean nothing. The "Progressists," the Clerical "Liberal Action," and the "Conservatives" are all supporters of M. Clemenceau, and would all be considered reactionary by the most extreme British Tory. There is no parallel to them in English politics. The "Conservatives" are the rump of the old Royalists. The success of these parties is the most significant thing about the election. The Government majority includes more than 200 avowed reactionaries, who will almost certainly demand concessions to the Church as the price of their support. This is the most reactionary Parliament elected in France since the National Assembly of 1871.

The "Socialist-Republicans" are a little group to which M. Painlevé and M. Briand belong, whose opinions do not differ from those of the Radicals and Socialist-Radicals.

All these groups, like the "Republicans of the Left," are divided into supporters and opponents of M. Clemenceau, so that it is impossible to say the exact number of the Clemencist Coalition, but it is probably about 450. The "dissident Socialists" are the social patriot deputies recently expelled from the Socialist party.

This result has been obtained by an electoral system deliberately designed to deprive the proletariat of its due share of representation. Its author was one of the most sinister figures in French politics, the tailor's son Jeroboam Rothschild, alias Georges Mandel, who has been M. Clemenceau's evil genius for many years. M. Jeroboam Rothschild has for the moment succeeded in his design. The peasants have combined with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, as on more than one occasion in the nineteenth century, notably in 1848 and 1871. On the one hand they were frightened by the bogy of "Bolshevism"; on the other hand they were bribed by exemption from the income-tax and from the laws against profiteering. But M. Jeroboam Rothschild's success will be his ruin and that of the French bourgeoisie. The proletariat will not sit down under the injustice inflicted on it, and the first concession to clericalism will enrage the peasants. The heterogeneous majority, agreed in nothing except hatred of the proletariat, must either go definitely to the Right or fall to pieces.

An example of the way in which the system has worked may be found in Paris and its suburbs, where the Socialists polled one-third of the votes and have less than one-fifth of the deputies. The following table will make the situation clear:

	Votes	Deputies elected	Just proportion
Clemencist Coalition	5,715,508	36	29
Socialists	3,578,585	10	19
Bourgeois Opposition	797,544	7	4
Royalists (*Action Francaise*)	324,127	1	2
Various other lists	179,749	0	0
	10,595,513	54	54

It is difficult to discover the exact number of voters for each list, but, taking the averages, about 380,000 electors voted for the Coalitionist lists and about 250,000 for the Socialists. The total number of effective voters in Paris and the suburbs was 813,216; there were more than 20,000 spoiled papers.

In Paris itself no candidate obtained a clear majority of the voters, so that proportional representation was applied in each of the three divisions. But the proportional representation system adopted is so extraordinary that its results are far from proportional. Thus the six dissentient social patriots standing in Paris obtained only 191,481 votes altogether, and four of them were elected, whereas the Socialist party elected only ten deputies for two million votes. The social patriots are included in the table above in the bourgeois Opposition.

Where the system of block voting (*scrutin de liste*) operated alone, the results were still more extraordinary. In the suburbs of Paris the Clemencist Coalition polled 2,102,411 votes, and the Socialists 1,576,602, and the Coalition returned all the fourteen deputies, because all its candidates were supported by more than half the voters. Some 110,000 electors are thus entirely disfranchised. In the Gironde the Clemencist Coalition also returned all the twelve deputies, although it was supported by about 81,100 voters out of a total of 159,014, so that its majority was about 3,000. In Seine-et-Oise all the twelve Coalitionists were returned, although only seven of them had a clear majority of the voters. The reason was that the five seats left over were not enough to go round on the system of proportional representation, so, under a clause of the law, they were all attributed to the list with the largest average. Very nearly half the voters were thus disfranchised. In one case, that of Haute-Vienne, the Socialists carried all the seats (five), but everywhere else the block voting told in favor of the Coalition. . . .

It has to be remembered that the proletariat in France is in a minority. The rural population is about 48 per cent. of the whole, and there is a larger proportion of persons living on unearned income (*rentiers*) than in any other country. Further, about a million and a half young men were killed in the war, of whom the great majority were workmen or peasants. The proportion of old men among the voters is therefore larger than it has ever been before. It seems probable that the Socialists polled the immense majority of the workmen that voted, and that a large section of the proletariat abstained from voting on anti-parliamentarist grounds.

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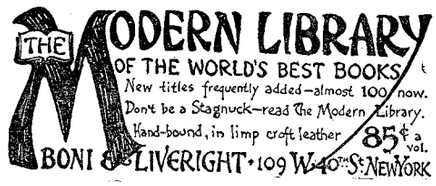
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